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ART. I.—THE GREAT ANARCHY.

*Stories of the Adventurers in Native Service, in India, during
the latter half of the 18th Century.*

(Continued from No. 220—April 1900.)

APPENDIX I.

A FEW details that could not well be fitted into our text may yet deserve record, as illustrative of the private affairs and personal fortune of some of the adventurers of the Anarchy. They are not of any special bearing on the state of India during that wild period; nevertheless those who have followed the main current of our narrative may care to know more about the persons who principally influenced its events.

The author is indebted for access to most of these sources of information to Mr. Stewart Sutherland, grandson of the Colonel Robert Sutherland of whom glimpses have been afforded in dealing with the career of General Perron. With Perron Sutherland was connected by marriage, having espoused the General's niece. Perron and the elder Hessing had found wives in the family of Derridon, still existing as small landed gentry near Agra;* and Mrs. Sutherland was daughter to Hessing and Anne Derridon, his wife, who remained in India when her sister, Madeleine, accompanied Perron to Europe, and became ancestress of several families of distinction in France, as will appear later.

Besides the land still held—or held within the last few years—by the Derridons, there are not many material monuments of the adventurers left in India. Amongst these few may be mentioned the tombs of the elder Hessing and Sutherland; with the Church and Palace built by Begum Sombre at Sardhana.

* When the author was District Judge at Agra—1872-'9—members of this family came as litigants into his Court. They dressed like Europeans, but spoke Hindustani.

Hessing's tomb, in the Padretala (or Catholic Cemetery) of Agra, is a pretentious building of red sandstone, a copy of the famous Taj Mahal on a reduced scale. There is a long historical epitaph in English, giving a summary of the life and adventures of the deceased.

Sutherland's remains lie under a less assuming monument in a garden at Muttra which probably belonged to a residence of his now destroyed. Some small wreck of landed property remains, from the rent of which the maintenance of the tomb and garden is provided, the balance going to good works. This officer was a Scot of good birth, once an Ensign in the Black Watch, who transferred himself to Sindhia's service and was made Brigade Major by General de Boigne and afterwards promoted to command a Brigade. He enjoyed the friendship and confidence of the General, as will be illustrated by some letters to be quoted hereafter. He had also the honour to co-operate with Colonel the Hon. A. Wellesley in 1800; and was in command at Agra when the Fort was surrendered to Lake by the younger Hessing. Sutherland died soon after the peace.

The Church and Palace at Sardhana were built by the Begum, a few years before her death in 1836, the architect being an Italian in her employ, Major Regholini. The house was inherited by the Begum's step-grandson, David Dyce, who took the name of Sombre and married the Hon. M. A. Jervis, daughter of the 3rd Viscount St. Vincent. Mr. Dyce Sombre dying in 1851, his widow married Lord Forester and during her life-time the house and grounds—seventy acres in all—were kept up. They have since been bought by the Vicar Apostolic of Agra, and are to become the site of a training College for young native Missionaries. The Palace is a fine building, standing on a basement eleven feet high. The front portico is approached by a vast flight of steps opening on a wide landing. A hall, 42 feet by 36 feet, leads to the various apartments, the private chambers of the Begum being entered by a winding staircase. Above all these and other bedrooms is the terraced roof so much affected in hot climates. The wings at the back, containing other apartments and offices, enclose a court-yard or small garden; and the front of the house is 160 feet in length. In the principal reception rooms used to hang a number of portraits of the Begum's friends, by Beechey, Melville, and other local artists—Sir David Ochterlony, on his white charger; General Cartwright; Baron Solaroli and Colonel J. R. Troup, husbands of Dyce-Sombre's sisters; Dyce-Sombre himself in a sort of Court-dress, with a Papal decoration. Amongst others was a small portrait-group, stiffly painted, representing the meeting of Lord

Combermere and the Begum after the fall of Bhurtpore (1826). There were also half-lengths of Generals Ventura and Allard, the successors of de Boigne and Perron, by whom the Sikh army was trained to fight the British in the middle of the nineteenth century. In the central hall was an ambitious piece, a life-size portrait of the Begum in advanced life, seated on a sort of throne and smoking her *hookah*. A well-printed head of a debauched looking fellow in Moghul costume represented John, son of the famous George Thomas, who was brought up by the Begum and married to the daughter of an Armenian in her service called Agha Wanus. On issuing from the park-gate one finds the road to the "Camera," or country house occupied by the Begum until the completion of the above-described Palace; and it was here that Bishop Heber was received by her in 1825, as described in his once well-known book.*

The Begum always maintained the position of an independent Princess, and showed hospitality to the military and civil officers of the neighbouring Station of Meerut. There was a dinner-party every evening, at which Regholini, Colonel Dyce the father of her subsequent heir, and the Reverend Father Scotti, the Chaplain, were usually present, along with their Mistress; a band of music was in attendance, and the best wines of France and Spain circulated freely.

Such was the splendid termination of the slave-girl's career—a romance scarcely to be outdone by the most inventive fiction. When she felt the approach of death, she divested herself of all her property, by deed-of-gift in favour of young Dyce, subject to various important charges. The military fiefs were confiscated in consequence of her demise; the brigade being at the same time disbanded. Enough of the private and personal property was left to make a handsome provision of some £20,000 a year for the heir—which, indeed, ultimately proved the poor fellow's ruin. Very substantial benefactions were at the same time made to various religious bodies and undertakings.

The estates attached to the Sardhana fief were originally estimated to yield a revenue of Rx. 60,000 (six lakhs) per annum.† (The Rx., or conventional Indian £, was then worth over 20s.) On the Begum's death all but the Park demesne were brought under the public fisc, which led to a long and costly litigation terminated by an award to the effect that the confiscation was an act of public policy with which the Courts were not at liberty to interfere.

* *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, etc.* 2 vols. 4to. London, 1828.

† Afterwards increased by the Begum's assessments.

It is a side-light on the state of the country in those days to learn that the British officials—as mentioned in the present text—at once reduced the assessments by twenty per cent. As the British of those days professed to take some $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the net produce, we may find some difficulty in estimating what share may have been left to the Sardhana tenants. Cesses, transit-dues, and factory-taxes, to a considerable amount, were at the same time swept away. If this was the condition of a mediatised State, in the heart of the British territory, under a ruler of exceptional intelligence desirous of standing well with the Government (and professing the Christian creed), what must have been the state of less fortunate districts before the introduction of British ideas and standards? Twenty years ago, when the present writer was at Meerut, the land in Sardhana had largely increased its cultivated area, the assessment had fallen to an average of Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ per acre, and wages had increased 150 per cent. over the rate current in the Begum's day. The five sub-divisions are now among the most prosperous rural tracts in Hindustan.

The annexed table will show the pedigree of the late Mr. Dyce-Sombre, who—as will be seen—was not of kin to the Begum—

Walter Reinhardt, *al.* General Sombre ;
m. a Muhamadan lady who survived
 him and died a lunatic.

|
 Aloysius Reinhardt, *al.* Nawab Zafar-
 yab Khan, *m.* daughter of Colonel Lefèvre :

|
 Anne Reinhardt, *al.* Sombre, *m.*
 Mr. George Dyce, Agent to the Sardhana
 Estates.

|
 David Ochterlony Dyce-Sombre, *b.* 1808 ;
 inherited the property, and *d.* with-
 out issue, 1851. *m.* Hon'ble Miss Jervis,
 who *m.* (2nd) the late Cecil, Lord
 Forester.

Of the Church—called “ Cathedral,” though when the author knew the place there was no Bishop—there is not much to be said. Besides affording the unwonted spectacle of a large place of Christian worship in a Hindustan village, the building has no special claims to notice. It is, however, of respectable dimensions—170 feet long, with a central dome and two lofty spires at the East End: it was consecrated by the Vicar Apostolic in 1829. The interior is paved with marble and relieved by mouldings in hard stucco. In the back of the

north transept is a group in white marble, by Tadolini of Rome, placed there by the gratitude of poor Dyce-Sombre. Pyramidal in form and exquisitely carved, it represents the deceased Princess seated on a platform surrounded by allegoric figures. Round the base stand life-size statues of civil and military officers; panels on the sides of the pedestal set forth the dates and deeds of the Begum's life, with historical groups in high relief commemorative of the Begum's court and camp.

II.

By the courtesy of the grandson of Colonel R. Sutherland, some interesting letters of General de Boigne have been consulted, which throw a new light upon the General's retirement from the service and return to Europe. The letters are written in a clear, bold hand; the English in perfectly intelligible though somewhat French in idiom. They cover a period of about nine months, *viz.*, from the General's last movement on Lucknow to his embarkation at Calcutta.

The earliest bears date "Lucknow, 2nd April 1896," and begins by expressing anxiety for news, as his correspondent must "be aware how interested I am in the successes and prosperity of our Prince;" Daulat Rao Sindhia, who was then—it may be noted—at peace with all his neighbours. The General then enters into some details about the administration of the Force, and earnestly exhorts Sutherland to "be kind to every one of the officers, attentive to them as far as they deserve it, to give them their due, to promote in rank and pay those who may be entitled to it by their good services and merits, but discharge those from whom no good may be expected—better to have few good than many bad." He deals with the cases of officers who have been giving trouble and threatening to resign; and adds, "detain nobody by force; everyone has a right to be free and look out for himself: in doing so officers shall never be wanting, I hope to be able to provide the brigades with many." But he stops suddenly: "I will not decide nor interfere—I have left the army—on account of bad health, but not to plague myself about the details of the Service. I am, indeed, incapable of attending to any business." The letter ends with complaints of the writer's ill-health and probable intention of proceeding to sea under medical advice, adding an expression of confidence in Sutherland's "sagacity and judgment for all what concerns the good of the Prince and of his service."

From this conclusion, and from the entire omission of the name of Perron as his possible successor, it may perhaps seem to follow that the General regarded Sutherland as the future commander of the Regular Army. Had this happened, the

whole course of subsequent events would have been affected to a degree which can only be conjectured. If Sindhia, under advice from a British officer, had complied with the policy of Lord Mornington, who can say if the authority of our nation would ever have been extended to Hindustan?

For many months General de Boigne lay at Lucknow in constant suffering and danger. Congestion of the liver and fever racked his frame and prevented him from taking an interest in the stirring events of which Lucknow was the scene. Sir John Shore, the British Governor-General, finding it impossible to wean the Nawab, Asaf-ud-daula, from the life of frivolous debauchery under which he was rapidly sinking into the grave, resolved on trying the effect of a personal interview; but the letters contain no mention of his visit. The only concern of the invalid is for his old master and comrades, mixed with a creditable solicitude for the two daughters whom he had, it seems, left at Aligarh. "Protect and defend them," he implores his friend; "and support my interest in everything in which your assistance may be required." A landed estate in what is now the Eta District had been assigned for the support of the girls; but the anxious father intended to return as soon as he was restored to health. If he should have to go to Europe—"which I hope may not be the case—it would not take me more than 18 months; knowing that Europe will (not) nor ever can suit my temper nor constitution . . . Be happy!" he ends, "and believe me for ever, etc."

The next letter is dated the 1st September; the rainy season was ending and the most trying part of the Indian year at hand. But the sick man does not mend: his "illness has been so great for these several months past that I thought it was all over for me . . . inconceivable how severe have been my sufferings . . . God be praised! all is for the best." He writes a long letter: this one has more than 1,000 words, all thoughtful and wise. In spite of the declaration of April that he has left the Army, his plan of a sea-voyage is only to go round from Calcutta to Bombay, there to join "the Prince" at Poona, and return to "Indostan" with the 1st Brigade. "Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to hear of the successes and prosperity of the Brigades raised by me and which give bread to one hundred thousand souls at least." Sutherland is exhorted to conquer his hostility towards the Muhamadan Paymaster, and warned that it is the Hindoos, and not the Prophet's followers, who are the real foes of Europeans in India. Other advice and suggestions follow; but nothing like interference; compliments to Lakwa Dada, the Brahmin Minister soon to fall from power and end

his days in exile : and the long epistle ends with remembrances to the Officers "and all the Men of the Army : it will be agreeable to them to see though yet far from them I have them yet in remembrance."

On the 13th, the General writes again, "having not for these six months past enjoyed a single moment of good health," he has incurred the reproaches of his friends for not answering their letters ; but he has now a new and much-esteemed medical adviser, Doctor Hare, who gives good hope of recovery when the cold season has had its healing effect : "if he can prevent my getting worse before the end of October." He has heard from Lakwa Dada, to whom he begs Sutherland to announce his intention of writing soon. "Tell him all accounts are to be delivered ; at my departure it was so ordered in General Orders : so long I am alive I have nothing at all to do with accounts, it is the business of the Mahratta Chief." Once more Sutherland is exhorted to be reconciled to the Moslem Paymaster ; "it is better to have him for friend than for enemy ; if you know your own interest you will follow my advice." He is sorry to hear that Mr. Dawes has left the service to plant Indigo ; this is a falling industry ; he gives details, adding that he himself has lost "four lakhs rupees ;" but is too ill to care. (Dawes returned to the service, and died fighting in the battle near Poona where Holkar defeated Sindhia, 25th October, 1802). The General ends with saying that he gets the Poona news from the *Bombay Gazette*, and telling his correspondent to "be happy and successful."

On the 7th January 1797 the General writes from Calcutta : before leaving Lucknow he had been mending, but the damp cold of a Bengal winter has brought a relapse : "Few men can have suffered more than I have this year past, particularly since my arrival to Bangala." He has taken his passage "both for Bombay and the Cape of Good Hope . . . if I am so fortunate to recover my health, I shall proceed immediately to Poona to join the 1st Brigade and meet the Prince ; if I remain as I am, I am obliged to go to the Cape ; then it will be six or seven months before I can be back to Coel, which God forbid it should be the case ! . . . Let me proceed to Poona or to the Cape, I trust and most warmly recommend you to continue your attachment, as you have done till now, to the Prince, to the good of the service, and indeed to maintain the fame and credit we have obtained at the sacrifice of so much blood and so much fatigue." In all which we may, if we please, observe either an actual commander, fully intending to resume his duties after a brief convalescence, or a man who knows that his health is gone, and who bids

farewell to the scene of his labour, but "casts a longing lingering look behind." Of the reality of the General's breakdown one can hardly doubt; in this very letter he says he would give up all his wealth—considerable as we know it to have been—if he could emerge from a state of suffering to which, as he quaintly says, "death is a thousand times as preferable." He proceeds to give some instructions about the Eta estate—"my Jaghire in the Province of Jalleyssore"—and to commend to Sutherland's protection "my women, my reputation, and all that concerns me: if you have gratitude you will prove it; I will say no more." General Martin will represent him as his General Agent, and will always know his address and forward letters. The letter ends with instructions on behalf of the "weadows of officers;" and the protection of "about nine country-born young men, sons of officers" to whom Ensigns' commissions have been promised "at Rs. 125 per month, and when Perron comes, give him some." By this time the General, perhaps, knew who was to be his successor; but he sends him no greeting.

The last letters of the series are dated on Jan. 15, and written on board ship, to be posted, doubtless, by the Hooghly pilot on leaving at the Sandheads. The General now speaks plainly as to his intention "to go no farther than Bombay, and proceed thence to Poona; in the end to pay my respects to the Prince. . . but if I am doomed to remain in my present state I shall be obliged to proceed to the Cape at the advice of the Doctors and at the solicitations of my friends. . . as for Europe, I don't think of it, but as a last resource, well aware that a single winter (there) would kill me, so much have I been worst since the cold has begun in Bangala." The European winter, as it turned out, was to prove a different thing from a Calcutta cold season; and nearly thirty years of honour and usefulness awaited the veteran in that Europe which he seemed to regard with so much anxiety: "to live a single year in Europe would be my death:" if the Cape does not restore him, yet "God be praised! farther can't at the moment think of any place of safety in Europe, to which adding that it being now 27 years (since) I left for the last time my native place I have not a relation or person of my acquaintance (left there)." He cannot therefore look forward to the influence and power to which he has become accustomed, "with the advantage of being able to do good to numbers of people." Had all this—so contrary to the ultimate result—been only addressed to Sindhia and other natives of India, we might be tempted to regard it as a *placebo* to cover desertion. But it being repeatedly urged so earnestly upon a European comrade, and always in company with marks of unremitting

sympathy with the service, we are surely justified in believing that, to the last, the writer hoped to resume his command in India. But there is equal reason to believe that the General did not leave the Mahrattas with much regret, whatever may have been his feelings towards "the Prince" or his European servants. In this very letter he returns to the subject of the Hindoos and their irreconcilable enmity for Europeans. "Believe me," he says, "and be assured all the Mahratta Chiefs are our mortal enemies, as well as the Pandetts" (the Brahmins), "and it is not one of them that would not see with the greatest pleasure the extinction of the Brigades; to effect that purpose nothing better than by our losing the Provinces." The gallant officer is led by haste into a tangle of words; the meaning is clear enough: the Lakwa Dadas, Ambajis, etc., would gladly see their Master expelled from Hindustan if the event should lead him to dispense with his Regular Force and European officers. Therefore he adds, to Sutherland, a caution that "it behoves you to have a vigilant eye to the entire preservation of both; your own interest and the good of thousands depend on it!" These reflections and instructions are not only of use in showing the opinion entertained by the retiring commander as to the character of his correspondent, but they throw some light on the subsequent policy and conduct of General Perron.

Before concluding this letter of farewell, the writer once more earnestly commends to Sutherland the interests of the Prince and of the service; "to maintain the reputation of the troops under your command requires activity and exactitude in every part . . . as you are wise I flatter myself to find things, on my return, in good order. I shall say no more; write to me every three or four months." In a separate letter of the same date, sent through Col. Martin, the General implores Sutherland to take charge of the Jalesar *jaigir*, remembering that it is not a military fief but a freehold from the late Mahadaji's favour under the seal manual of the Empire (*Al-Tamgha*); so that it may be secured against "the rapacity" of Mahrattas and Pandits. The income is to be "the patrimony of my children till they are of age, the maintenance of my two girls . . . their pension being attached and affixed on the said Jaghir."

Whether the young ladies lived to enjoy the provision thus made for them; whether Sutherland looked after their settlement in life; and whether they left any descendants of the great Savoyard General, it is now too late to ascertain. It is only clear that Gen. de Boigne had confidence in Sutherland, who doubtless justified that trust for the rest of his brief career.

Vain conjectures have been already expressed as to the

possible variation in events had Sindhia regarded Sutherland with the eyes of his departed General. He preferred to trust the Frenchman, with the result that we know. Perron intrigued and vacillated, almost to the last; his officers deserted or betrayed him; and he esteemed himself lucky to escape with his goods to the protection of a generous foe. The last of the letters kindly supplied by Mr. Sutherland shows Perron in the act of withdrawing his property from the Fort at Agra under a Pass from Col. R. Ball, commanding for Lake at Sasni. It is addressed to George Hessing, and dated 15th September 1803. The English is irreproachable.

Amongst other letters due to the courtesy of Mr Sutherland not the least interesting are those addressed to his grandfather by the future Duke of Wellington when the latter was conducting operations in the valley of the Kistna in 1800. It was the year after the fall of Tippu Sultan of Mysore; and Arthur Wellesley—as he then was—had taken the field against one of Tippu's former followers—locally known as "Dhundia Waugh"—who had escaped from Seringapatam and attempted to live on the country at the head of a band of freebooters. Wellesley had pushed the robbers across the country into Dharwar, and now found reason to hope that he might bring them to bay. But to do this effectually he required the aid of Sindhia, whose forces were then in the Deccan. The first letter on the subject bears date, "Camp on the right bank of the Malprabha, August 13th, 1800." It begins, in the most direct fashion, by referring to information which must have reached the correspondent from the Court of Poona, and to the success which has hitherto attended the British troops. "This being the case," proceeds the young Brigadier, "and having besides received intelligence from Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer that Dowlut Row Scindiah (*sic*) had informed him that his troops could cooperate with me, I am induced to write to you. Doondiah Waug is now on the South bank of the (Gulperba?)* river; his object is evidently to cross it and to avoid the troops under my command. It is in your power to prevent this, and thus to render an important service to the Peshwa and his allies. As I understand you are an Englishman I address you in English, and I shall be obliged if you will let me know what steps you intend to take with a view to compliance with the wish which I have an opportunity of mentioning your services to the British Government and to that of Poona."

"I have the honor to be sir, with respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

"To the Officer Commanding
the forces of Dowlut Row Scindiah."

* Perhaps the Ghatprabha, an affluent of the Kistna, which breaks from the mountains near Gokak.

This letter appears to have been a fortnight on the road ; on the 2nd September it must have been received by Sutherland at Poona, for on that date he wrote to the Colonel informing him that he had communicated the contents to his subordinate, Captain Brownrigg, directing him to place himself under Colonel Wellesley's orders on condition of his not taking his detachment beyond the limits of the Mahratta territory. "Give me leave to assure you," added Sutherland, "that though circumstances have placed me under the directions of a native Prince, I still consider myself bound by every principle of honour . . . to watch for every opportunity of rendering service to my fellow-countrymen" . . . These professions were handsomely acknowledged by Wellesley who added that, if the enemy "should return into the Mahratta country their services would certainly be availed of." And, "proceeds the writer," I shall take the opportunity of stating to Captain Brownrigg my opinion of the manner in which the troops under his orders can be employed (so as) to render most service to the common cause. "The correspondence would be forwarded to the Government of Fort St. George ; and the Colonel had no doubt but that the Right Honorable the Governor" (Lord Clive) "would derive the greatest satisfaction from persual." This letter is dated from camp, September 7. On the 20th of the same month, Wellesley gives Brownrigg the following laconic account of the end of the operations against Dhundia. "I fell in with his army on the 10th instant, and an action ensued in which his troops were entirely defeated, and he was killed." This action was fought at Manoli.

The remaining letters are formal ; one from Brownrigg offering congratulations, and one from the Colonel in courteous acknowledgment. It is only needful to add that after the conclusion of the war, four years later, Brownrigg was allowed to enter the service of the Honorable East India Company in which he lost his life, being killed at the siege of Sirsa (presumably in 1818).*

An interesting account of some of the adventurers was published, by Mr. Fisher Unwin, some years ago, the author being Mr. Herbert Compton. There is no date on the title-page, but the work was noticed in the *Indian Magazine and Review* for December 1892. The title is "A particular account of the European military Adventurers of Hindustan ;" but the only full memoirs are those of Boigne, Perron and Thomas, the rest being collectively dealt with in an Appendix.

* V. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII. 12.

ART. II.—THE HIGHWAY TO TIBET.

IT seems strange that at this date, one of the countries of the world should still be shut in from the rest of mankind, not by impassable deserts or impenetrable ice, but only by the exclusiveness of its people; and these not a hermit nation, like the Koreans of twenty years ago, but a nation of born traders, with a literature, a Government, and a religion. Such, however, is the fact. The priests of Tibet, called lamas, have secured the control of the Government, and, living in pomp and luxury on the profits of commercial monopolies, and regarding the people simply as instruments for their aggrandisement, have forbidden any one to come into their country who can show the people a happier or a more profitable way of life. Surrounded by tremendous mountains, the Tibetans have been able to carry out this policy with a thoroughness which would not have been possible in a country with a seaboard. But China also has helped. It subjugated the Tibetans as early as the ninth century, A. D., and, although it makes too little out of them to take much interest in the possession, it is sensitive about having its supremacy disputed. Accordingly, Chinamen can enter Tibet at all times and by any route; a Chinese Resident lives in great state at Lhasa; and Chinese subordinate officers, with small parties of soldiers, occupy strategic points on the frontier.

As may be imagined of a country ruled in this way, the inhabitants and their highways become of less consequence in proportion as they are remote from Lhasa, the capital, a place which only four or five Europeans have seen, and they in far by-gone years. Consequently, while it is possible to penetrate the country, that is, the mere land, for some distance, from Kashmeer, Assam, or Mongolia, it is virtually impossible to go half a mile beyond the frontier from Bengal or China. But the Tibetans come and go; and, excepting that which leads eastward to the Szechwen province of China, no road out of Lhasa equals in importance that which goes over the Jeylap pass, through the south-east corner of Sikhim, into Bengal.

That was the way a friend and myself took from Calcutta one October; and it was hard to believe, after traversing forests, descending into valleys, and climbing mountains, whose grandeur baffled description; after passing in single days from blistering heat to freezing cold, that we had not been more than about thirty miles in a straight line from British India. Such is the mystery of the unknown; for

Sikhim itself was a closed land till not very many years ago. Our journey finished, my friend and I stood on the pass, at an elevation of 14,380 feet, and looked wistfully over the Forbidden Land, which stretched down and away from our very feet. The will of a small and half-savage nation shut us out from the great tableland of eastern Asia as effectually as the continent of ice shuts men out from the North Pole. Fifty miles off, towering above, like a giant land-mark, its upper half of snow dazzling in the sunlight, stood Chumolahi, as beautiful as little Fujisan, the glory of Japan. The hand of man appeared in a cairn and pole, thickly hung with prayer-flags, to mark for the demon-dreading traveller the spot where the jurisdiction of the gods of Sikhim ceased and that of the gods of Tibet began. All round was bare and bleak and cold, with snow in patches on the ground and covering the hills that guarded the pass. Before us the path rapidly descended past the timber line, 4,000 feet, where a narrow valley, threaded by a stream, reached away in a straight line for ten miles to the Mochoo river, the main route of traffic from Bhootan to Lhasa. We could not see Rinchingong, the little town at the junction of the rivers; but on the hillside above it the white buildings of the Buddhist monastery of Kajui were plainly visible.

Nine miles behind us, and lower by two thousand feet, hidden from view by the bare mountains, lay Gnatong, a small settlement of Natives living miserably in little huts of rough boards, without a tree to shade them or a flower to cheer them, their hardy cattle grazing in their sight and their dogs and poultry feeding among the rubbish round their doors. There stood also the deserted barracks of a garrison which we English kept in that bleak spot for four years; and in the adjoining cemetery were the neglected graves of fourteen of the soldiers, who died there, "far from their home, beyond the wave." A fifteenth mound marked the resting place of a Swedish Missionary.

It was in 1888 that, a Tibetan force having invaded Sikhim, and the effeminate ruler of that State having failed to expel them, we sent an expedition and drove back the intruders beyond the Jeylap pass. Our camp was at Gnatong, and we held our position there, within a strongly fortified stockade, till a treaty with China defined the limits of Tibet and afforded a guarantee that Sikhim would not be again encroached upon. The tenantless and fast dilapidating barracks bear witness to the energy of the Anglo-Saxon nature in comparison with the objectless life of the Native inhabitants in the adjoining village. The telegraph office, the meteorological observatory, the pay office, the canteen, the guard-room, and the officers' mess are still plain-

ly distinguishable ; and what used to be the soldiers' gymnasium still contains parallel bars and the poles of a swing. Thomas Atkins also, with his usual facetiousness, named the spaces between the lines of barracks "Rotten Row," "Stanton Road," "Hyde Park Corner," etc. ; and these signs remain to suggest Christian charms to Mongol by-passers. To the Natives in the village the roomy barracks appear cold and cheerless ; so they prefer to stay in their own small and dingy huts ; although they regularly pull down and carry away the doors, windows, and rafters, to be used for firewood. They also resort to the reservoir of water which they never thought of building for themselves, but which the English troops built as soon as they came there ; not, however, because they prefer the pure water issuing from a spring in the hillside to that in the puddle which has satisfied them for generations past, but because it is easy to fill their vessels in the deep basin.

Gnatong stands at the limit of the timber line ; and from that point backward towards India the forest grows deeper as the elevation becomes lower. I have taken the reader at once to the border of Tibet, and said nothing of the journey, so I will ask him to return with me and set out from Darjeeling. That delightful hill station, distant from Calcutta about eighteen hours' journey by railway and ferry boat, is by no means as well known to Europeans in other parts of India as it is to us of Calcutta and Bengal ; but its fame has reached Europe and America, and, as it is the most accessible place in the heart of the Himalayas, scores of tourists every year make a point of going there, though they may hurry past all our other hill stations. They are rewarded by seeing what the historian Elphinstone has described as "the noblest scenery in India,..... a sight which the soberest traveller has never described without kindling into emotion, and which, if once seen, leaves an impression that can never be effaced." On a clear day they have a view of Mount Everest, whose summit overtops that of the principal peak of the Andes by half a mile in perpendicular height.

At Darjeeling, which is almost 7,000 feet above sea-level at the railway station, and about 1,000 feet more on Jalapahar, we strike off to the north-east, and first go down about 6,000 feet to the Teesta river, a swift and grand current in the depth of the mountains, with a capital bridge constructed not many years ago by British enterprise. Every few hundred yards of the long way down has revealed some new beauty : at one point a splendid view ; at another a shaded walk ; at another a sparkling rivulet ; and all along tall trees, giant creepers, thickets of bamboo, tangles of cane, mosses, ferns, and flowers, with birds and butterflies unnumbered. Crossing

the Teesta, we climb 4,000 feet to Kalimpoong, a town much smaller than Darjeeling, where missionaries of the Established Church of Scotland have a church, a medical dispensary, a school, and the headquarters of a work which extends to numerous villages and has been repeatedly acknowledged by the Government to have a most beneficial effect in civilizing the mountaineers.

The Rev. J. A. Graham has won a reputation by his graphic account of the Mission, entitled, "On the Threshold of Three Closed Lands," the closed lands being Tibet, Nepal, and Bhootan. From Kalimpoong we proceed along a fairly level road, through light forest and in an exhilarating climate, to a small town called Padong. Then there is a steep descent to the Rusheet river, which bounds British territory, and we enter Sikkim. Climbing up from the valley, we come to Rhenok, where the influence of British civilization is seen in a post office, a telegraph office, and a row of little wooden shops with things for eating and wearing unknown to the natives till we took them there. We found the postmaster a most polite and intelligent man, a typical Nepalee of the educated class. He introduced his interesting family to us, and told us he had a son at school in Darjeeling. The mountaineers of India are nearly everywhere labouring men without a turn or taste for education. The Mahratta Brahmans on the ghâts above Bombay are an exception; and so are the upper classes of Manipur and of Nepal, thorough Hindoos with frames and muscles formed by constant climbing. At Rhenok we left civilization behind us and entered the solitudes of the mountains, where are no inhabitants save a family or two in a hut, at long intervals, who maintain a precarious livelihood by offering food and drink to traders passing with strings of laden mules between Tibet and Kalimpoong.

We are now two long marches from Gnatong, and, grand as has been the scenery and marvellous the animal life so far, they become more awe-inspiring and bewildering from this point onward. But the climbing is terrific. There are 9,000 feet to go up; and twice over we have an interminable zigzag to descend into a valley, and then a corresponding ascent before we reach the level from which we started. We two did it in rough style, with no more commissariat than the Boers in South Africa: we had one saddle mule, but my friend disdained to ride at all, and I contrived to walk half the way. One of us carried a camera, and the other a gun. We had neither servant nor coolie, but a mule to carry our provisions and extra clothing, and one man to look after it and the riding mule. We paid for two men, but one of them deserted us on the second day out.

The mountains grew higher and higher and the forest became deeper and denser as we trudged mile upon mile the day long. The amazing variety of colour in the trees, far surpassing the contrasts of autumn hues in Europe, riveted our gaze many times as a vast wall of mountain rose before us or a panorama of hilltops stretched away into the distance. Shade after shade of green, of yellow, of brown, and of red, from lightest to darkest, made a mighty patchwork and displayed one glory of the Himalayan range. And although the season of flowers and orchids was past, we saw enough to remind us of the paradise that blooms there in spring, with gorgeous clusters hanging from the trees and microscopic beauties making mosaics on the ground. For miles the first day our road lay along the bank of the rippling and gurgling Runglee river, and when we crossed the bridge it was to follow another stream for a long distance before the path turned up the mountain and slowly rose 4,000 feet to Sedonchen. No words can describe the gloom of that forest or the wildness of those shaded torrents. Man is of no account there : vegetation puts on its glory without his aid, and animal life teems on a scale of which he knows little. Among birds, the giant hornbill has its home there. This great creature is four feet in length, but nevertheless it finds a hollow in one of the trees large enough for its nest : into that the female retreats to lay and hatch its eggs, and the entrance is plastered up with clay by the male, which regularly feeds its mate with fruit, through a hole left in the plastering, till the period of incubation is completed.

From Sedonchen we climbed to Lingtoo, a crag several hundred feet higher than Gnatong, where the Tibetans built a fort when they invaded Sikhim, and where the path proceeds along a narrow ledge overlooking a dreadful precipice. Our troops demolished the fort ; but the ruins still show a line of slabs with inscriptions, and a collection of prayer-flags mark the spot as the haunt of a "Zhi-dak." To this black demon travellers offer a rag torn from their clothes and tied to a stick, on gaining the summit of a hill or pass. I watched the manœuvre performed by our muleteer, but had to resort to the "Gazetteer of Sikhim" to understand its significance. While planting his offering on the "lap-che," or cairn, the traveller calls the demon by uttering in a meek voice, *Kiki! Kiki!* Then he adds *So-so! So-so!* which means presentation or offering ; and exclaims in a loud, triumphant strain, *Lha-gyal-o! Lha-gyal-o!* "God has won! God has won!"

We are now above most of the mountains, and the tropical vegetation has given place to pine forest. The weather is too cold for the birds and the beasts, the insects and the reptiles, among which we have walked so long. The air does

not buzz all day with the din of the cicadas, and at night we do not hear the constant pipe of the pigmy owl, nor the bewildering clamour of grasshoppers and treefrogs. But the fierce and strong lammergeier is here in its pride, and parties of the small black eagle sail to and fro along the cliffs. The raven is everywhere, in pairs, and choughs, with their musical roll, fly about the valleys. The Himalayan marmot, and smaller, but not less interesting, rodents, have their burrows among the gorse. We chanced also to come upon a herd of about forty yak tamely grazing on a cold hillside, with their shaggy hair and broom-like tails. The calves were curious little creatures.

We were three days in this region going and three days returning, with an interval of two days in which a high wind rose and the weather underwent a change. October is the season when the sun endeavours to assert itself after the tropical rains and before the snows of winter. So we saw the skies and the landscape under a considerable variety of climate. We passed more than once through a deluge of rain; we went for miles in mists that shrouded everything; and we saw the sun shining in its splendour and the moon "walking in brightness," with every star sparkling in the rare atmosphere. The heat scorched us in the valleys, making the perspiration stream down our faces and soak through our clothes; and in six hours we were shivering with cold on a mountain top. But no view we had impressed us, because of its unlikeness to anything seen in India, as much as the sun shedding its rays through openings in the clouds, upon distant hilltops or on masses of snowy mist. It was when we were on the highest elevations of our journey, and ourselves so enveloped in mist that the orb of day was invisible: there would be a long stretch of clear atmosphere, say to our right, the hilltops lying all below us, and several valleys filled with mist that looked like pure cotton pressed down. If, then, an opening in the clouds above, invisible to us, permitted a flood of sunlight to fall on a square mile of distant landscape, showing a green hillside and a bed of snow-white fog in perfect brightness, we had a view of glory peculiar to those upper solitudes.

All the countries in this part of Asia, with the exception of Nepal, are peopled by Mongol races, having the flat faces, high cheek bones, unmistakeable eyes, scanty beards, and yellow or brown complexions most familiar to us in the Chinese; and these people observe a form of the Buddhist religion with its monks and monasteries and mystic sentences, and spells and charms, and rosaries and prayer-wheels, and its demons and exorcists and astrologers. The Tibetans come down from their lofty, wind-swept tableland only to trade.

The Bhootas, a stalwart people from the less inhospitable, but still jungle-clad and fever-stricken, mountains on the right, travel more easily into Sikkim and find local employment and residence there. The Lepchas, who are the proper natives of Sikkim and have a petty king at Guntok, are a delicate-looking people with a wonderful knowledge of wood-craft, and are dear to the entomologist because of their familiarity with butterflies and beetles and their skill at catching rare specimens without spoiling them. They gather and eat a profusion of vegetable produce, and delight in making gardens of wild flowers round their huts and clearings. But their gentle spirits and easy habits give them no chance against the enterprising Nepalese on their west, who already swarm over the most fertile parts of Sikkim and are cutting down the forest and raising crops of grain in a masterful manner. This warlike and sturdy race of Hindoos conquered the country in the 14th century and have ever since maintained a strong, organized administration, with priests and idols and temples as strictly Hindoo as any in India. They may be recognised wherever met by their dress, their caste, their idolatry, and their family system. They exhibit, in a thoroughly Buddhist region, the picturesque element which makes India incomparably a more interesting country than China. But it is British order and British wealth that give every class the best opportunity to make a show; and consequently, at Darjeeling and round about these Nepalese and Bhootas, Tibetans and Lepchas, with the local hillmen known as Paharees come out in dresses and flowers and ornaments that beat anything else to be seen in all the inhabited Himalaya. Feminine vanity has here all the scope it wants, and no tribe of girls in India, outside of Kashmere, look as attractive as the girls between Darjeeling and Rhenok.

I have spoken of the Jeylap-la—"La" means "pass"—as the end of our journey. To be exact, we went eight miles into Tibet, to Yatung, where, by a treaty signed between Lord Lansdowne and a high Chinese official from Lhasa, whose visit as "Omban" is well remembered in Calcutta, an open mart was established for the promotion of trade between India and Tibet. There are a Chinese and a Tibetan garrison to see that no person other than a Tibetan or a Chinaman passes the barrier one yard further into Tibet. But no market, not a stall for the sale of food, has yet been set up there; and nobody lives there except the soldiery, and the servants of the only two Europeans in the place. These Europeans are an English Commissioner of Customs in the service of the Chinese Government, and Miss Annie R. Taylor, the missionary known for her persistent and daring attempts to reach

Lhasa both from China and from India. It is a desolate spot, in a valley with an elevation of nearly 10,500 feet. A small but fairly good house and office have been built for the Commissioner, with dwelling places for his establishment. The highway to Lhasa, the very path we have pursued from the pass, runs in front of these buildings and so becomes a street ; for on the other side of it is a cluster of wooden huts occupied by the squalid and tattered Tibetan garrison. Among these huts a "suite of apartments" is rented by Miss Taylor, who keeps a shop of miscellaneous ware as the condition of her residence in forbidden territory. She is the first and last merchant to take advantage of "the open mart" we extorted from Tibet. A quarter of a mile further along a stone-wall makes the barrier beyond which we may not trespass ; and immediately on the other side is a garrison of Chinese soldiers, just a little better accommodated than the Tibetan garrison. The Kajui Monastery, already mentioned, is up on the hillside, four miles beyond ; and in the valley below it, but out of view at Yatung, is Rinchingong, a really important town, with all the advantages of a corner shop at the junction of the Yatung and Mochoo valleys. That is undoubtedly where our open mart ought to have been ; and, as the treaty provided for a revision of its terms in May 1899, an advantageous change may be announced at the first favourable opportunity. That opportunity, however, has a good way round to come. The Chinese Government and the powerful monopolists at Lhasa are against any change, and our Government is politically indifferent. But our commercial interests are riotous for a highway for Indian tea into Tibet, which lies so much nearer to our doors than to the doors of China. Very many square miles of land round Darjeeling have been cleared of forest and laid out in tea by British energy and with British capital ; and tens of thousands of Nepalese and Lepcha coolies find employment there on terms which cannot be approached under their own Governments. All this tea positively steams to flow into the many myriad tea-pots of Tibet. And it is shrewdly pointed out, as a countervailing advantage, that Tibet wool might be exported to India, under suitable encouragement, in much larger quantity than it is at present.

But, speculate how we will, the march of civilization is resistless. Forty years ago the tracts now covered with ranges of coolies' huts and dotted with the pretty bungalows of tea-planters, were as hopeless jungle as any all the way to Gnatong ; and the prophet's eye can see a time when the forests of Sikkim will give place to fields, and the railway will traverse the mountains, till thriving towns stand on the Runglee river, Lhasa becomes a Moscow, and Kalimpoong the seat of a university.

ART. III.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL JUSTICE IN BENGAL.

IN 1898, 591,793 civil suits were instituted in the Civil Courts subordinate to the High Court of Calcutta. Ten years earlier the number was 452,533.

The value of the property in dispute in the cases instituted in 1898 was Rs. 4,30,08,755 or over $4\frac{1}{4}$ crores of rupees. The amount realised during the year in execution proceedings was well over two crores.

These figures show how important a function of Government the administration of Civil Justice has become; indeed there is scarcely a department which more vitally affects the interests of a greater number of people. It is easy to upbraid the litigiousness of the peoples of India, but a characteristic common to the Bengali, the Panjabi and the Madrassi cannot be due to mere perversity: its cause must lie deep. It is undesirable that there is much frivolous and vexatious litigation—we take no steps to prevent it. But in a society where nearly every man has an interest in land, and is to that extent a capitalist, and where nearly every man raises money, directly or indirectly, on his capital, litigation is inevitable. Disputes about boundaries, rights of way and succession in connection with land, as well as disputes about longstanding debts, must frequently arise. It is not fair to compare such a society with a country where the bulk of the population receive wages in cash. In England the working man who wants to raise money, sells his Sunday coat: in Bengal the ryot mortgages his holding: a proceeding which will eventually land him in the Civil Court.

As such disputes, requiring settlement, are numerous, the number of suits brought in the Civil Courts will depend on two circumstances: firstly, the extent to which the indigenous method of settling such disputes is superseded: secondly, the way in which work is done in the Government Courts. As the Civil Courts are not only supreme over, but actually ignore, panchayets or other non-official tribunals by which through long ages petty disputes have been settled, it is merely a question of time before the latter are ousted. They necessarily lose all the coercive force with which custom has endowed them. Except in the few cases where strong religious or caste feeling may interfere, all disputes must eventually go to the civil courts for decision, unless the parties can come to terms.

The less inducement the parties have to come to terms, the more disputes will actually reach the courts, and this leads to

the second point—the way in which the courts do their work. Where justice can be obtained with certainty, promptness and cheapness, a certain class of suits will proportionately diminish. If a weak case is reasonably certain to lose, it will not be set up: if it is useless to resist a just claim, resistance will not be attempted: if vexatious claims are ruthlessly suppressed, they will not be instituted. It is, then, not sufficient for Government to sigh over native litigiousness; so far as the litigation which exists is unnecessary, Government is itself largely to blame.

It seems, however, that the evil is exaggerated. Of the total number of cases decided, only one in five is decided against the plaintiff, and, seeing how many legal pitfalls beset the path of the litigant, and that he may have a good case and yet be unable to prove it, the number of unsustainable cases cannot be great. It is not clear why a man should be blamed for prosecuting a just claim in courts to which we invite him. If, in so doing, he involves his opponent in disproportionate costs and harassment, the fault lies in the system. People often talk and write as if the bulk of the litigation in the Civil Courts were the outcome of sheer perversity: they deplore it and would, if they could, diminish its volume. If the litigant in our courts finds his way beset with difficulties, they are inclined to think that it serves him right. We cannot, however, put back the hands of the clock: civil disputes will inevitably come more and more universally to the Civil Courts for decision. It is our obvious duty to render their decision easy and satisfactory, and at the same time to discourage all abuse of the procedure of the courts.

It is not my purpose in this paper to consider whether the law administered by our courts is suited to the present condition of the people, or whether the procedure of the courts is the best that could be devised. I propose the much humbler task of considering whether, taking the present law and the present procedure, the standard of work attained is the highest possible under the circumstances; whether unnecessary delay and expense are avoided and vexatious litigation is discouraged.

The Provincial Civil Courts of Bengal are manned by 31 District Judges, 66 Subordinate Judges, and 292 Munsiffs. Of these 221 exercise the powers of a Small Cause Court, from which the power of appeal is limited. About one-third of the litigation of the province is decided under the Small Cause Court procedure.

If these courts are to deal satisfactorily with the mass of business submitted to them, it is clear that method, promptitude and diligence are necessary. Method and promptitude

are not the leading characteristics of the Bengali mind : it is in this direction that we may expect to find defects in the Civil Courts.

In 1898 the average time that elapsed between the institution and the decision of a contested suit in the Mofussil Courts in Bengal was 128 days. In the case of uncontested suits the time was 61 days. But the way in which business was disposed of can best be seen by examining the figures for the different classes of suits. These are given in the following table of duration of suits, in days :—

	Contested.	Uncontested.
For money and moveables ...	74	40
Rent suits ...	141	72
Title and other suits ...	204	110

These figures indicate sufficient delay in the disposal of work. But the litigant in Bengal is not at the end of his troubles when he has got his suit decided in the court of original jurisdiction. There will probably be an appeal. An appeal takes sometime to decide. The litigant will have to wait for a decision.

179 days in a suit for	money.
157 " "	rent.
227 " "	land.

Thus the plaintiff in a contested title suit will have his case pending for 431 days before it is finally decided, without counting the time which elapses between the decision of the suit and the filing of the appeal, and of course without allowing for the perilous joys of an appeal to the High Court. The case will be hanging over his head for 15 months. That is the *average* time, it is nothing exceptional for a case to last two or three years.

Now these title suits are not suits between wealthy corporations, involving valuable properties : about half are valued at less than Rs. 50. By them are settled the ordinary disputes between villagers. If we were not all too accustomed to the law's delays, it would, perhaps, strike us as a scandal that, if two ryots have a dispute about the ownership

of a field, they cannot get the matter decided without their hanging about the law courts for fifteen months, or that it should take a landlord ten months to get a decree for rent from his ryot. Such prolongation of cases involves constant visits to the law courts, each visit being attended with expenses: adjournment succeeds adjournment; the parties and their witnesses are harrassed and bled, frequently until their resources are exhausted. Sixteen per cent. of the cases instituted are compromised, which means in most cases that the parties cannot afford to continue the contest, and so patch up some sort of arrangement to save themselves from total ruin.

The people of Bengal are mainly agriculturists. They are poor; their disputes are mostly such as a man of common sense, visiting a village, could settle in an hour: our wonderful legal system intervenes, plunges the parties in litigation which is to last for years, and then wonders that its procedure is abused.

Common sense refuses to believe that such delays in legal business are necessary. Want of firmness, want of method, want of organization may with certainty be assumed as the causes of this dilatoriness in the despatch of business. The question for decision in the ordinary petty civil suit is no more complicated than that in the ordinary criminal case: it is as easy to decide whether A borrowed Rs. 10 from B as whether A stole Rs. 10 from B; but the Civil Courts take nine months to come to a decision where the criminal courts take one.

There is another criterion of the work of the Civil Courts: in some districts rent suits are still tried in the revenue courts under Act X of 1859: the procedure is a clumsy one: the officers who try the suits have a great amount of other work to do, and a Deputy Collector would always postpone a rent suit to take up a criminal case: yet in the revenue courts a contested rent suit pends 108 days against 161 in the Civil Courts, and a rent appeal 52 days against 157 in the Civil Courts.

So much for the way in which the suitor with a just cause is treated. But, perhaps, if the good are not encouraged, the bad are at least actively discouraged. Far from it; to one who knows the facts it is ludicrous to remember that section 209 I. P. C. makes punishable with two years' imprisonment the offence of dishonestly making a false claim in a Court of Justice: that to fraudulently and collusively obtain a false decree for money or property is a criminal offence: that to remove or conceal property to prevent its being taken in execution, or to make a false claim to such property with the same intent, are acts punishable under the I. P. C. Perjury and forgery and

disobedience to the court's process are of course penal offences. Yet, so far as action depends on the initiative of the Civil Courts, these provisions of the law are dead letters: if a man makes a false charge before the Criminal Courts, he runs every chance of being prosecuted under section 211 I. P. C. Section 209 is the corresponding section relating to the Civil Courts: few Magistrates have ever been called on to try a case under it.

If such obvious defects exist in the working of the Civil Courts, and are due to want of proper organization and supervision, we at once ask the question, "Who is to blame?" The answer is "No one." There is no one to be hanged, for there is no one responsible: no head to the organization.

The High Court is the body nominally responsible for the working of the subordinate Civil Courts. In practice its powers of supervision are limited. There are two methods by which the head of a department may satisfy himself that his subordinates are working satisfactorily and exercise the requisite control over them. One method is to make them submit returns and statistics and to judge their work thereby. All experience shows that this method is fallacious. The returns, even if not fudged, are deceptive, and also lead directly to bad work. To take a case in point from the Civil Courts, it is desirable that a Munsiff should decide suits with the least delay possible: accordingly Munsiffs submit returns showing the length of time that the cases on their files have been pending. If any cases are pending more than six months, the Munsiff must explain the reason for the delay and may be reprimanded. He will accordingly try to complete his cases within six months, but will consider that he has *carte blanche* to keep all cases pending up to five months. Thus the average duration of a contested suit under the regular procedure is a little over five months.

Many other illustrations could be found of the fact that returns are mainly useful to direct the enquiries of an inspecting officer in the right direction. Government in all other departments has learnt the lesson that the watchword of good administration is "inspect, inspect, inspect."

The heads of all administrative departments spend much of their time in inspection: in many cases they have special assistants entirely employed on such work: in the case of the Criminal Courts the work of the Subordinate Magistrates is inspected weekly, monthly, and half-yearly by the District Magistrate, and also by the Commissioner. When we turn to the Civil Courts we find that the case is different. This consensus of expert opinion is ignored; there is no staff of inspecting officers engaged in detecting the erring, inciting

the lazy, reproving the backward and instructing the ignorant officer.

The District Judge is supposed to inspect his subordinate courts once a year : the supposition is little more than a pious wish : if the Judge choose to make his inspections but once in two years, no one will say him nay. If a District Magistrate did not inspect his offices in accordance with rules, he would soon find himself in water unpleasantly hot.

If the Subordinate Courts are seldom inspected, there is no one at all to inspect the work of the District Judges, or to ascertain that work throughout the Province is being conducted on uniform lines and see that lessons learnt in one place are laid to heart in another.

The High Court as a whole cannot exercise the requisite control : most of its members lack the requisite knowledge of the working of Mofussil Courts or of the needs of the people. So large a body is also unsuited for the task of supervising the details of daily administration. In practice one of the Judges devotes his spare time to the work, and the routine of the department is the hands of a junior civilian who holds the appointment of Registrar.

The task of the Englishman in India is to organize and control. The Civil Courts stand in as much need of organization and control as any other department. To suppose that, because a judicial officer should be left entirely unfettered in the exercise of his judicial discretion, he should also be free from all efficient control as to his method of doing work, is mere confusion of thought. The Subordinate Judges and Munsiffs of Bengal are a hardworking and conscientious body of men, but they are not exempt from the failings of their races. If, unaided and unsupervised, they conducted business with the vigour, common-sense and promptness demanded by English opinion, it would only remain to abolish the civil service and open the Calcutta Houses of Parliament.

Organized supervision is needed : a department of civil justice should be created with a head responsible for its working. Such an officer would be entirely subordinate to the High Court, perhaps a member of the court, but he would be responsible to Government and in the eyes of the world for the working of the Civil Courts. He would have an adequate staff to assist him in the work of inspection. It would be his business to introduce reforms in the interest of litigants. At present the only public opinion that is brought to bear on the methods of judicial work is the opinion of lawyers ; and the opinions of litigants about many matters are apt not to coincide. The lawyer, like the theologian, when removed from the control of public opinion, runs into the direst absurdities.

He will refine and refine his legal procedure until it ceases to work and the ordinary business man is in despair.

Why is it that the Civil Courts are in so chaotic a condition, as compared with other departments of Government? Because they and they alone are not under the direct control of Government. The High Court has no funds at its disposal; it has no staff at its disposal: to a great extent it has not the knowledge requisite for the proper conduct of such work.

The Executive Government is composed of officers who have had practical acquaintance with the working of various departments, and who, when their turn of power comes, are ready to remove defects of which they are personally cognizant. They know what standard to aim at and what it is possible to attain.

There is no member of the Executive Government who has personal acquaintance with the inner working of the Civil Courts or is specially interested in their efficiency; there is no individual outside the Government on whom is laid the definite duty of maintaining that efficiency.

The multiplicity of Government Reports and Resolutions which are published, often gives ground for a jeer; but at any rate from them the public learns that the highest officers of Government are watching over the work of their subordinates, looking out for defects and applying remedies.

There is no such wholesome publicity about the working of the Civil Courts. Government is not responsible for them, and the High Court does not take the public into its confidence. Nor, indeed, is there anything for the public to learn beyond masses of figures, which show work in a state of chaos and no attempt made at improvement.

The case would be different if there were an officer whose reputation was bound up in the working of the Civil Courts. With an efficient staff, he would put pressure on the Munsiffs which would enable them to resist that constant opposing pressure of the pleaders in favour of delay to which they now succumb, there would result that life and movement which is the product of personal initiative.

On the other hand, such an officer would be able to press vigorously on Government demands for increased aids to efficiency which are now quietly shelved because there is no one in a position to enforce them.

All such proposals as the present at once raise the question of cost. In the first place the Mofussil Civil Courts yield a net revenue to Government of over 50 lakhs per annum: so long as the courts are worked at so large a profit, there is no excuse for sparing money in making them efficient.

There is, moreover, a method by which funds could be made

immediately available. There are 31 District Judges, the majority of whom are civilians on large pay. These officers also exercise the powers of Sessions Judges, in which capacity it is reasonable to employ them: as Civil Courts they are anomalies.

The District Judge on Rs. 2,000 a month hears appeals from the decisions of Munsiffs: in this respect he exercises concurrent jurisdiction with Subordinate Judges on one-third of the pay. More than half such appeals are heard by Subordinate Judges; so it must be presumed that they do the work efficiently: if so, it is sheer waste of money to employ the more highly-paid officer.

The District Judge exercises exclusive jurisdiction in probate and insolvency cases. There is no reason for this, beyond a thoughtless following of tradition: the questions for decision are not so complicated as many which are disposed of by Subordinate Judges: work under the Guardians and Wards Act, now performed by the District Judge, is work which it is peculiarly desirable should be done by natives of the country. The only judicial work done by the District Judge which is not, or could not, be equally well done by the present Subordinate Judges is the hearing of certain appeals. If a Subordinate Judge decides a suit valued at Rs. 5,000, the appeal lies to the High Court and is heard by two Judges whose abilities are measured by salaries of Rs. 4,000 a month: if the suit was valued at Rs. 5,000, the appeal lies to the District Judge, who is only worth Rs. 2,000 a month. This is in itself anomalous, and it is not worth while to retain the present class of District Judges merely to perpetuate the anomaly. Why should District Judges be civilians? It is necessary to bring Englishmen from England and pay them high salaries either to secure men with special knowledge which is not possessed by natives of India, *e.g.*, engineers or doctors; or to secure men with powers of organization and a love for western methods which we do not expect in the East. Do either of these reasons apply in the case of Civilian Judges? Far from the Civilian Judge having a special knowledge of law, he is the only member of the legal hierarchy, from the Chief Justices of Bengal to the youngest officiating Munsiff, who is entirely ignorant of civil law and procedure. The civilian spends his first ten years of service in converting himself into an efficient administrator: when he is thereupon pitched into the office of District Judge there is no guarantee that he has ever in the course of his life seen the inside of the Code of Civil Procedure. But it may be said that he will at least bring a vigorous common sense to bear on his work, which will be wholesome. Far from it: he has small opportunity to do so.

The Sessions Judge tries personally all the most important criminal cases in the district : it may well be worth while to employ a highly-paid European officer for this. The district Judge does not try himself the most important civil suits ; so that his special qualifications have no scope in this direction. More, our system of civil justice, with its license of appeal, is remarkably homogeneous. There is no place for vigorous, but uninstructed, common sense between a legally-minded High Court and the body of Munsiffs whose thoughts are bounded by a Law Report. The High Court, which keeps its appeals pending over a year and then decides them on some delicate point of law, necessarily sets its impress on all the Subordinate Courts. No one has ever contended that a sturdy common sense is the distinguishing note of the Calcutta High Court.

At this time of day it is unreasonable to appoint, as Judges immediately subordinate to such a court, officers who have merely shown ability in improving their district roads or stirring up lazy municipalities, or even who have shown want of ability in such work.

The 31 District and Sessions Judges of the Province are employed almost equally on their criminal and their civil work : if they were relieved of the latter, 15 senior civilians would be at once set free for general executive work and the pay of five of them would man the District Civil Courts. We should see fewer young civilians of four and five years' standing placed in charge of districts, and three or four officers could at once be spared to set the work of the Civil Courts going at a more business-like pace and in a more business-like manner.

The question of the class from which District Judges should be drawn, of the point in the legal system at which criminal and civil powers should be united in the same officer, is, however, a subordinate one. The necessity of rendering civil justice more cheap, more prompt, and less harassing, is urgent : such a reform would not be a showy one ; but scarcely any reform would do more to remove vexations from the common life of the common people.

C. H. BOMPAS.

ART. IV.—A RETURNED EMPTY.

(*Gleanings from the Field of Memory*).

CHAPTER I.

Curæ leves loquuntur ; ingentes silent. " Petty cares babble ; heavy care is mute . "

[Any one who happened to read the *Recollections* published some time back under the title " A Servant of John Company " may, perhaps, bear in mind that they broke off with the writer's departure from Calcutta. The following pages offer an account of some of his subsequent experiences.]

THE steam-vessel on which I embarked with my family in October, 1882, was of considerable size ; belonging to the " City Line," owned by a Glasgow firm and primarily designed for cargo. But she had a small passenger accommodation forward of the engine-room and exquisitely clean ; each person having a commodious private room opening on to a well-appointed central saloon.

My Diary may be now drawn upon for a few notes.

Kalpi, Wednesday, October 25th.—Raised anchor 7 A.M., and soon got into open water. Remembrance of the first sight of these low wooded shores just 35 years ago ; a mere episode, and how unprofitable !

Pilot went on board his brig about 2 P.M. bearing our last letters ; and soon after we were in the blue ocean ! 'Tis better to have lived and lost than never to have lived at all

The Captain, a thick-set Scottish mariner, is courteous—even to the point of flattery ; knew all about one, I daresay ; but only brings the best side forward. The vessel is rated, one is told, at 2,800 tons for Canal dues, but her actual cargo at this moment is said to be 5,000 tons. Here is a nautical problem that enquiry does not altogether solve ; she is built of iron and her *weight* is 3,500 tons. The freight is carried at 5s. a ton—a dead loss undergone for purposes of competition. She steams 12 knots an hour ; but sets her trysails this evening to try and do a little more.

Saturday, 28th, off Madras.—Lost a valuable gold watch by leaving it in the bath-room. Tried school for the elder children, but they pleaded *mal-de-mer* and threw it up. Went early to bed and overheard Captain on deck above ask : " Does he say nothing about his watch ? "

Sunday.—Up early and strolled into Captain's cabin, where my watch lay upon the table : said quietly :—" Wind that watch up every morning, please." He handed the article to me with the observation that " she had stopped." We sailed and steamed along the Southern side of the island and signalled Galle about noon : hoping that no sabbatical scruples

would hinder the Gallese from telegraphing the matter home, so that friends in London would know before breakfast that we had passed during Church-time. A nut for Lord Dundreary! Our not landing was a source of gratification to those who remembered former visits and vain expenditure on sham jewels. In the evening had a cigar with the skipper, who spun tremendous yarns.

Tuesday 31st October.—A lovely day, ship doing short time ascribed to engines "priming." Were we all wise we should not repine at a little delay of this kind since life has not one day of peace too many.

Saturday, 4th November.—Passed South of Socotra; then "the Brothers," two apparently volcanic piles. Towards evening Abd-ul-Kuri about 20 miles long and 1,000 feet high.

Monday.—Passed Aden 11-30 A. M.—After entering Red Sea wind fell dead aft, and we felt the heat.

Wednesday.—Lost what the seamen called our fair wind, and after a short calm encountered a fresh northerly breeze. Passed a man-of-war and dipped our ens'n, meeting a courteous reply.

Thursday.—Thought of Moses as we glided passed the Sinai Peninsula: if any display such as his were to occur now, the *New York Herald* would send out a special commissioner, and it would be reproduced at the Crystal Palace.

Friday, 10th November.—Woke at 4 A. M. by engine stopping. Beautiful dawn in Suez harbour;—

Sirius is set: no sound is on the sea
Where late the ship's green fire was backward rolled;
But see the comet's beard of spreading gold,
Is tangled in the swarming Pleiades.
Yon shore, from whence we catch the landward breeze,
Is Egypt, where the monuments were old
When Joseph to the Ishmaelite was sold:
Before Rome rose, she fell; her king's decrees,
Her arts of peace and armaments of war,
Her laws, her hopes of Immortality,
Sunk in the sand to-day, can scarce suffice
To give our Island autumn exercise;
Our Island that has all she had of yore,
And what she is will some day surely be.

Sunday, 12th November.—After the horrible flatness of the canal, with its buoys, stations, and pleasant break of greenery at Ismailia, we reached Port Said, a slummy little Venice. Testimony to the power of commerce, that any kind of town should be erected on what was no more than a spit of sand, barely large enough to hold a lighthouse, twenty years ago.

Monday.—Went ashore with the Captain, who took us to his Agents, where we passed a couple of hours with M. Savin, the local Director, an agreeable Frenchman, who showed the skin of a fine lion that he had lately shot.

Thursday.—Sighted Malta in the morning. After midday dinner all went on deck to see the ship glide in among the numerous lights of Valetta harbour and town. Went ashore about 8, and to the large and comfortable Opera House—orchestra-stalls 3 shillings. The piece was called "Ione," founded on Bulwer's "Last days of Pompeii," pretty well rendered, but somewhat noisy. Military officers (Infantry and Gunners) in uniform; also some from German and Yankee ships in harbour. Supper at the *Gran Caffè*, and back on board, where coaling was going on with much vigour.

And so on, through squalls and falling temperature, past the coasts of Tunis and Algeria, now restored to Latin civilization; past the gardant Lion of Gibraltar, and the historic shores of Trafalgar and Cadiz; sighting Lisbon and Cape Roca; and once more into the boundless waters, with the long wave rolled in from Labrador and all the cold racket of the Bay of Biscay; till we sighted Start Point on the 25th, and proceeded up the channel. Next day we turned the North Foreland, passed up the river, and reached the Docks about 4 P.M.

And then, a few weeks having been spent in looking up friends and making preliminary arrangements, we settled down before the end of December in a temporary abode at Ealing, near to town for business, yet affording the means of sleeping in fresh air. The place was, even then, large and populous, with one or two old houses—of which the best were occupied by the Right Hon. S. Walpole and his relatives, the daughters of Mr. Perceval, the Minister shot in the House of Commons so far back as 1812. Our experiences of England were not at first encouraging; trouble with tradespeople and landlords, one could stand; but the outrageous behaviour of nurses and cooks often made us think with tender regret of the swindling old Khansaman and story-telling Aya whom we had so often cursed in India.

Nevertheless, whatever drawbacks may have attended the attempt to establish one's encampment on the metropolitan outskirts, it had at least one very considerable compensation. For some years past one had been a member of the Royal Asiatic Society and of the Athenaeum Club; and in these retreats one could escape from the suburban Philistine and meet the true aristocracy of England, the wise and learned men who gave one constant opportunities of *looking up*—the most agreeable and profitable of all attitudes. Only to mention a few who have since departed, there were James Ferguson, the architectural critic; Vaux, the accomplished Secretary; Matthew Arnold; Thomas Huxley; Sir H. S. Maine; Sir Louis Malet; Sir James Stephen; Lord Bowen; Henry Reeve;

Lord Monkswell (1st); Lord Lytton, and old Richmond, R. A., and the artists Calderon and Du Maurier, all of whom it was once a pleasure and a privilege to meet; as well as many who are still happily on this side of Charon's Ferry.

London life I found much altered from what I remembered it at the commencement of the Victorian era, when the ideal of one's ambition was to form one of the persons who—with scant social acknowledgment—were to be directors of human opinion. The traditions of Grub Street, or what it was the fashion to call "Bohemia," were then still operative. Maginn was gone; but Mahony, Thackeray, and other less famous men, remembered him and his attitude of careless omniscience and schoolboy scurrility. The period of coffee-houses and sponging houses was waning, with its atmosphere of drink, debt, and duelling; but there still clung to the literary calling a kind of Fra Diavolo romance which had a strong fascination for a certain class of youthful minds. Now, after thirty-five years of peaceful prosperity, one found the man of letters transplanted and transformed. Grub Street was improved off the face of the earth; the editor, even the contributor, had become a power in the State, driving to his club in his own carriage, and quaffing champagne at the dinner tables of Dukes.

Obviously, this was a career completely closed to the Returned Empty. His only prospect was to look on from the outside, and observe, where he could no longer hope to participate. One's youthful ideal had proved false—youthful ideals mostly do. It was now to be seen whether the new position—that of an undistinguished onlooker—would be more fruitful. Without further explanation a few scraps from the Diary for 1883 may be now permitted. Private matter is excluded; but I will just note—for the information of others in like circumstances—that a great deal of time, temper, and money, was wasted in trying to find quarters for a large family at a low rental.

A very few words, however, may be convenient as to the conditions of public life in 1883. In the previous December some important events had occurred, and some important men had passed away on the last day of the month. Léon Gambetta died, from a mysterious wound, at Ville d'Avray, near Paris; and if no equally distinguished Briton had disappeared during the period, yet the decease of Archbishop Tait, and of Antony Trollope, made a blank in the ranks of Englishmen. On the 1st a new set of procedure rules was agreed to by the House of Commons; on the 4th the Queen opened the new Law Courts, on which occasion I was present accompanied by the late Mr. Justice Spankie. The sight was

impressive, a crowd of barristers being present in their forensic costume, the Queen's Counsel in full bottom perukes; as her Majesty entered, a sunbeam pierced the wintry sky and crossed the Gothic Hall; and the gracious Lady proceeded to her *dais*, whence she delivered a short address in her clear, sweet, voice, supported on either side by Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt in their glistening robes of office.

In the following February an enquiry was held at Dublin into the circumstances of the Phoenix Park murders, and the discovery was made that the Fenian Society included an inner ring of criminals associated for the assassination of public servants: James Carey, a Dublin Town councillor, who had been privy to the murders, being among the Approvers. The Parliamentary Session was almost entirely absorbed in two subjects, Irish disaffection and Mr. Bradlaugh's endeavours to force his way into the House, culminating in a riotous meeting in Trafalgar Square, and an action at law in which the free-thinking M.P. was sentenced to a fine of £500, on the 30th of June. Unusual attention was drawn to India by the agitation arising out of the proposed alteration of the law of Criminal Procedure, oddly designated "the Ilbert Bill," after the Legislative Member of Council who had drafted the measure in the ordinary routine of his duties. On 27th June Lord Salisbury made a speech, to which he now, probably, hardly cares to look back; Mr. Chamberlain's programme was, he said, pure Jacobinism; and it was, to his lordship, a source of wonder that Mr. Chamberlain was allowed a seat in the ministry (Mr. Chamberlain being President of the Board of Trade under Gladstone). On the 29th Sir W. Harcourt, for his part, expressed warm appreciation of Lord Rosebery. Such are the vicissitudes of opinion in high places. In July Carey, the Dublin approver, was assassinated at Port Elizabeth by one O'Donnell, doubtless an agent of Fenian vengeance.* In the following month four Irishmen were sentenced to penal servitude for life on a charge of conspiring to destroy public buildings—a new gunpowder plot with the improved resources of modern science. On the 6th December Lord Ripon announced in Council that the "Ilbert Bill" had been approved by the Home Government with modifications restricting jurisdiction to District Magistrates and Session Judges, who would be *ex-officio* Justices of the Peace. These were some of the salient features of the year in which were recorded the notes from which I proceed to make a few extracts.

Monday, 22nd January 1883.—Rather hard day in Town; lunch at Athenæum with Mat. Arnold: thence to the rooms of the Asiatic Society, in Albemarle Street: met Dr. R. N. Cust,

* O'Donnell was hanged at Newgate on 27th December.

Vaux, and Terrien de la Couperie. After dinner went by special invitation to R. Inst. of British Architects to join in discussion on paper by old Will. Simpson about Himalayan Architecture, which he thinks taken from wooden huts. Lord Stanley, of Alderley; Col. H. Yule; General Maclagan, all speaking.

Tuesday, 30th.—Indian mail in. A.—indignant at my C.I.E., but I am not responsible, never having asked—or even wished for—such a thing. I have no doubt Lord R. meant it kindly.

Thursday, 15th February.—Parliament opened by Commission. Tried to get through crowd; at last arrived in Broad Sanctuary by way of the Embankment; crowd very dense, but got through by S. Margaret's to the Peers' entrance, and got into the Lord's lobby: here T. came to me and took me in. Debate on the address and funny spectacle of old men in robes, taking off and replacing cocked hats that did not fit.

Monday, 19th.—Called on Mr. Ely at University College to obtain information about vacancy as Prof. of Indian Law and History; kind promise of support from Lord N.

Thursday, 8th March.—More promises of support at Gower Street.*

Saturday, 10th.—Friendly letter from T. offering introduction to Lord R. A member of the family went to town at 4-50, protesting to the last against the inaccuracy of a Railway porter who assured her that the train would not start till ten minutes to five.

Friday, 22nd.—Called on Major A. at Bedford Park, a very remarkable place; with dense masses of Queen Anne houses (detached) of red brick-work; artificiality trying to look simple; no shops, one inn, a club, stores, school of art, and a nightmare church calculated to make orthodoxy intolerable—if anything could.

Saturday, 23rd.—Interesting conversation with——at the Athenæum. He said that Max Müller made Indian Aryans and their institutions too primitive. In modern matters English Society hastening to disintegration: Chamberlain practically a Tory; Conservatism idle in itself, as health in social organism must demand change: but it might be useful to slacken downhill speed, like a brake.

Tuesday, 27th.—Finished Mallock's "Social Equality," a book that may be applicable to Anarchists, but is no refutation of Liberals: he shows—what is pretty obvious—that a graded society is favourable to ambition, and so to progress. But what Liberals appear to insist on is that the minority of persons naturally privileged—born with silver or gold spoons in their

* The attempt failed, owing—I was told—to one's not having been called to the Bar.

mouths—ought not to be further endowed with advantages other than what fortune has already given them. It is not social but political inequality that is the blot of the old sort of European societies—founded mostly on conquest.

Friday, 6th April.—To Society of Arts about lecturing.

Tuesday, 10th.—To a meeting at Grosvenor House to see a testimonial presented to Ernest Hart. I did not quite know why; but was glad to see a number of distinguished folks, and still more to make acquaintance with the Duke's small but beautiful collection of pictures, among them Gainsborough's famous "Blue Boy" and one of the three copies of Reynolds' "Mrs. Siddons." When I say "copy," I would not imply that the one at Grosvenor House is not an original, but only that there is another at Dulwich and a third somewhere else, while Sir Joshua's "Note book" only mentions the painting of *one*, for which he records that he was paid 700 guineas. I asked Richmond, the oldest of extant Academicians, to tell me which he thought the original; he was born in 1809 and might have heard authentic traditions. He would not, however, undertake to say which of the three was original; adding—"you see we don't paint any of our pictures; we only sketch them in, and then make them over to our pupils: when they think the work finished, we take it into our studios and play with it, and put in what we call 'artistic merit.'" I knew that this was done by sculptors, having seen mason-looking men in paper caps chiselling in Gibson's atelier at Rome: but did not know that similar procedure was usual in painting.

Friday, 27th.—To House of Commons: Gladstone made a great speech on the Affirmation Bill:—"I do not hesitate to say that the specific form of irreligion with which, in the educated society of this country, you have to deal . . . is not blank Atheism; that is a rare opinion and seldom met with: but . . . those forms of thought which hold that whatever is beyond the visible scene, whatever is beyond the short span of life, you know—and can know—nothing about: it is a visionary and bootless undertaking to try to establish relations with it." Of course this, if true, is a description of Epicurus, his school, and takes us back to the days of Lucretius. One doubts if our modern Agnostics go quite so far [G. O. M. not in touch with contemporary opinions.]

Saturday, 12th May.—At Lady W.'s. Met Genevieve Ward and Mathilde Blind. A note from Lord N. about a club he is instituting for the excellent purpose of enabling those interested in India to meet natives of that country visiting England.*

* This Club ultimately failed; and the premises are now in the occupation of a publishing firm. It was known to the profane as "the Black Hole of Calcutta."

Friday.—To Exeter Hall, where I met Lord Stanley and made final arrangements for my Lecture, at which he was to be Chairman. The Hall well filled, and lecture well received: the report in the papers saying that I showed that Lord Ripon's project ("Ilbert Bill") had been premature and had raised up an amount of class antagonism that could not but be highly prejudicial. Discussion ensued (cheers were given to the pro-native sentiments).

Monday, 21st.—Went to N. Club by invitation to see the Prince of Wales declare it "open:" a number of Anglo-Indian celebrities and a few Indians. Dinner of R. A. Society at St. James's Hall, Sir Bartle Frere in the Chair very bland.

Wednesday, 23rd.—Went with Mr. C. J.—to see the famous Chiswick House, now in the occupation of Lord Bute, who was not there, but had most kindly arranged for our reception. It is a fine villa, said to have been built by Inigo Jones from a design by Palladio; standing in 25 acres of ground, with superb hot-houses, 100 yards in length. In front some fine cedars, dating from the Revolution, sweep the green velvet of the lawn with dark branches. The ground-floor only meant for use in very hot weather: an external staircase leads to the principal suite which is magnificently furnished and hung with rare pictures, including Vandykes, Teniers, a fine Rubens, and two good Tintorets. We were shown the bed-room in which George Canning died. It seemed strange to find such a scene of rural beauty within five miles of Charing Cross, and to see a heron rise out of the sedges as his ancestors may have done before the beginning of history.

Saturday, 26th.—To Lady F.'s where they had a dress-rehearsal of a spectacle from Homer, called "The Tale of Troy."—the Greek verses being spouted by a troop of Girton girls, led by Brandram and Mrs. Beerbohm Tree; with an accompaniment of curious pentatonic music by Messrs. Otto Goldschmidt, M. Lawson, W. Parratt and Professor W. H. Monk. The *mise-en-scène* was under the capable hands of Sir F. Leighton, P.R.A., Messrs. Watts, Poynter (R. A. S.) and others. Several very lovely ladies took part: among whom one recognised Mrs. Trevor Plowden, Mrs. George Batten, and Miss Laura Craigie-Halkett.

Monday, 28th.—Dined, with General N., at Willis's Rooms, being the anniversary of the Geographical Society, whereof my host is a Fellow. Lord Lansdowne spoke; Huxley was in the Chair. Some other (rather dull) speeches, of which it struck us that Huxley made the best.

Friday, 1st June. To Exeter Hall, to hear a paper by Miss Nightingale on "The Ryots of India." Discussion followed, in which I took part, along with Lord S., Sir G. Campbell and

others—more or less experts. Lunch at Northbrook Club with Yule, Sir G. Birdwood and F.

Saturday, 2nd.—Took E. to *matinée* at Vaudeville Theatre : met. C.B., who said he hated to see plays in the daytime, but—being himself an Actor—had no other chance. The piece was the immortal "Rivals," in which in youth I had often acted. Mrs. Stirling an excellent "Malaprop;" and I thought Farren's "Absolute" better than his father's, equally graceful and more vigorous. Thence to Lady W.'s Reception : where—was not wholly pleased.

Thursday, 7th.—This afternoon saw a sight I should not have expected in this highly policed land. A youth galloped down the lane by my study-window ; leaped his horse over the gate at the end, flung himself off and disappeared : presently followed a mounted Constable in pursuit, who got the horse, but not the rider, who—it was said—had stolen the animal and ridden it over in broad midsummer daylight from Hounslow.

Thursday, 14th.—To the Olympic with E. and A. The piece, called in English "The Queen's Favourite"—was an adaptation of Scribe's "Un Verre d'eau," and very well played by Miss G. Ward and Mr. W. H. Vernon. A daughter of old Buckstone's made a pretty *Abigail*, and a minor part was taken by Miss Achurch.* As history the play is stark nought ; but Miss Genevieve put her culture and her fire into the part of the Duchess. I visited her behind the scenes with the compliments of our party and was introduced into the Green-room.

Friday, 15th.—To Levée at St. James's, held by Prince on behalf of his royal mother. Beefeaters interesting as survivals, Gentlemen-at-arms rather *rococo* in ancient-modern dress. A great crowd of officers, some of whom one knew. Presented by Lord N. [H. R. H. supported by Duke of Cambridge.]

Monday, 18th.—Spent an hour and a half at the R. A. Exhibition, making notes in Catalogue for future use. To R. A. S. with Colonel G., to read paper—"Can India be made interesting ?" Discussion by Dr. Leitner, Colonel Keatinge, Jas. Fergusson and Mr. Colborne Baber.†

Wednesday, 20th.—Talk with Sir L. M. at Club : he is always full of information and anecdote. Called on Vaux in the afternoon and went to Grosvenor Gallery to see pictures by Degas, Manet, and others of the French "impressionist" school : it struck one that they would not do.

Tuesday, 24th July.—To Twickenham with E. S. P., an old brother-officer and a man of culture, to see the contents of Strawberry Hill. The former sale (April 1842) had dispersed

* Janet Achurch Ward, since *m.* to Mr. C. Charrington, and well-known as the interpreter of Ibsen's female characters.

† Orientalist, since dead.

much of the old collection of H. Walpole ; but some still remained, including an alleged Gian Bellini, some fair historical portraits, and the marvellous group of three ladies by Sir Joshua which was long since insured for £ 10,000. The rooms in the old part of the house are too low ; but the more modern rooms very good. There was some very pretty china, with very quaint furniture. The grounds were not open. It was interesting to see the last of a famous home.*

Wednesday, 29th August.—E. and I went to lunch with Archdeacon Cheetham at the " Old College," Dulwich. [Of course this is the real " College of God's Gift," founded by Alleyne, *temp.* Jacob. I.; the other is a mere school, misnamed " College," according to the loose magniloquence of our day.] It is a fine old building, and the Warden's rooms look out upon a still and sheltered garden. We enjoyed the picture-gallery, with many fine works from Teniers to Reynolds, so strangely brought together by Desenfans and Bourgeois. Amongst them is the *replica* of Sir Joshua's " Mrs. Siddons" referred to in mention of the Duke of Westminster's collection above,† (10th April).

Monday, 22nd October.—Read paper on The Taj at Agra before the Royal Institute of British Architects. [The Secretary was good enough to say that my writings on the subject were " of more value than you perhaps imagine." He considered me to have solved the problem of " the real authorship of the designs for the Taj."]

Thursday, 22nd November.—Singular inquest on an Afghan residing in Montagu-Place. His name was Ismail Khan, and he had passed as a Surgeon and also as a Physician, but had failed in obtaining employment. He took prussic acid, recording his conviction that the act was a " sane" one, and bequeathing his body to the London University Hospital for scientific uses.

Saturday, 24th.—Reading autobiography of Sir A. Alison, the historian. Evidently a courageous, indefatigable man ; whose narrowness gives his reader an occasional start. He tells us, in so many words, that Providence co-operated in his *History of Modern Europe* by arranging the incidents in an instructive sequence. It is significant of the want of reflective power, too, that, after persistently arguing that Free Trade

* Inherited by Lady Waldegrave, daughter of the famous singer, Braham : married (*en secondes nocces*) Lord Carlingford, who sold the property after her demise.

† These paintings were originally acquired under commission from Stanislaus Lesczynski, King of Poland ; but, that somewhat theatric sovereign having lost his throne and civil list, the pictures were not sent to him ; and, after long lying neglected in a private house in London, were bequeathed to Dulwich by Sir F. Bourgeois.

had set on foot the ruin of the country, he says—towards the end of his book—that the condition of the nation is still prosperous and that commerce and manufacturing industry are immensely increasing. Also that London with its poor and crowded population was kept in order by unarmed policemen. Not exactly signs of ruin surely, nor did they then cease. Between the time when he wrote and the year 1881—a period of ten years—the Savings' Bank deposits had increased from 41 to 77 millions, and the Income-Tax returns from 434 millions to 578, while the National Debt had decreased by more than 30 millions, Convictions of criminals were lower, as also the percentage of pauperism.

Monday, 24th December.—In the evening S. C. took me to a subterranean cavern opposite the Aquarium, where a man with dislocated aspirates read some vulgar politics to a staff of shorthand reporters out of work, and a boy sang sweetly.

The year ended in a new house ; and its experiences were recorded in the subjoined doggrel :—

Ah ! London, dear London ! what joy to regain
The streets and the parks that we loved so in youth,
And loved they are still, though the wind and the rain
Take the charm from the scenes if they add to their truth.

How often, when parched by a tropical sun,
For a chill or a shower one hungered and prayed,
And now, when our exile is over and done,
One is wrong to complain of the damp and the shade.

It is true that the life is both irksome and gray,
And the sky of our fortune is oftentimes dark ;
That Honesta works kerchiefs at nine pence a day
While her sister Anonyma rides in the Park.

If a house in the suburbs is all you maintain,
The rent will be high though the site may be low,
And they'll offer a Dado instead of a drain,
With facsimile tenements ending the row.

Then the neighbours will stare at you all the first year,
As if wondering ' Who can this pick-pocket be ?'
In the second some cards at your door may appear,
And the clergyman ask you to five o'clock tea.

Yet you live—while life lasts—in your own motherland,
Whose sons may be rough, but are truthful and brave,
And—whatever their conduct—you quite understand
If she grudge you a home she will grant you a grave !

CHAPTER II.

(1884.)

For the greater part of this year we remained at Ealing, interested spectators of a drama very new to our experience, London had many shocks during the earlier months, shocks of which some were physical as well as moral; the playful Fenians pursued their dynamitic diversions; the Russians made moves in Central Asia which gave us fits of what the Duke of Argyll called "Mervousness;" the despatch of Chinese Gordon on a mission to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons from the Sudan led to anxiety and expense which seemed to have no promise of advantage; a small rebellion had to be dealt with in British America, concluded by the incident—so rare in modern times—of a rebel leader dying on the scaffold; Gladstone and his then followers felt the recoil of the Sudan disasters in spite of a spirited little campaign on the Red Sea litoral. The veteran parliamentary hand did not, indeed, shake, ostensibly, and the fiery cross began to wave in Midlothian; but some of the other Ministers gave signs of weariness or weakened allegiance, while one or two announced views bordering on socialism. The cold sinister influence of the Irish conspirators was working half unseen.

Amid all these distractions private life had to go on as best it could: all sorts of efforts had to be made for the establishment of a footing in the world; one did a little journalism for Indian papers, and for the *Academy*. The intervals were used in the preparation of a History of Indian Moslem dynasties, afterwards published by W. H. Allen & Co.

Monday, January 14th.—Finished Bishop Wilberforce's *Life*; a not very skilful or amiable book, yet yielding a clear picture. The man was a somewhat worldly-minded and—under a bland exterior—a pugnacious Priest, with extreme views as to the need and power of Dogma. But there was a thicker stratum of sincerity in his character than what was inferred from superficial symptoms. His chief defect was, perhaps, a failure to realise the principle of evolution—changes in the organism in response to changes in surroundings. So he went on offering stones from the Past to a time that demanded not only the bread of life but also the fruit of the Hesperides. But it was an acute and able personality. I heard him preach, in 1862, and was somehow reminded of Spurgeon.

Wednesday, 23rd.—Official forecast of weather: "Wind North-West, changeable, colder." Actual facts: Wind South-West, very high, rain all day; warmest day since winter began.

Thursday, 24th.—Read ——'s new novel: much observation and invention; style full of his pleasant mannerism; a strenuous attempt to make fun out of *chee-chee* talk and doings,

which is perhaps the main novelty. Some of the characters have a curious habit of being reminded of quotations from English or foreign poets in critical moments of life, which seems a false generalisation, since the number of people who do such things is too small to constitute a type.

Gordon leaves London to go to the Sudan: British Government having ordered all the Egyptian garrisons to be withdrawn, which is resented by the Egyptian Government, all whose members resign.

Monday, 28th.—Called on the W. s. No one in save the Papist daughter, with whom an interesting talk. There is something very pathetic in any human effort to transmute evil into good, and hammer the pure metal out of the stubborn ore of Destiny. Does it not seem as if "Nature" represented an ore—a raw material, neither hostile nor friendly, but fundamentally indifferent and even amenable to skilful handling? For efforts of this kind a highly organised theosophy like that of Rome is a most effectual implement for those who can accept it. Returned to find the plumber at work; he too—were he but in earnest—is grappling with Destiny; but an Indian Bungalow that needs no drainage is a simpler thing.

Thursday, 31st.—A kind letter from Lady C. in Ireland, who has evidently overcome some sort of crisis. "We shall be very glad to see you. . . We thought it better not to leave home at present, as some of the party declared that if they went away they would never return, after the sad events that have occurred here. But all are beginning to get over the shock; and by the time you come we shall be having a new . . . and all be bright again."

Saturday, February, 2nd.—A familiar figure gone from the Athenæum, in Abraham Hayward, Q. C., famous in the imbroglio of Mrs. N. and a deceased statesman.* His notice of *Vanity Fair* in the *Quarterly* was said to have given the needful push when that great work of fiction was making an almost hopeless struggle in monthly parts.

A fine cartoon by Tenniel in *Punch*, representing General Gordon Pasha giving Mr. Gladstone "a lift." A Radical M. P. says the G. O. M. looked at it sadly, murmuring—"Yes, it is quite true; and when he falls I shall fall too."

Thursday, 7th.—Great excitement on a rumour that Gordon had been captured. Every one speculates on the effect that such a disaster may have on current affairs. Will Ministers be seriously attacked by the Opposition? They have probably a substantial majority in the House, but the country may turn

* Afterwards idealised in Mr. Meredith's very charming tale "Diana of the Crossways."

very hostile. *Tros, Rutilusve.* . . 'tis all one to Heracleides.

Monday, 11th.—Strange weather; rain, sunshine, sleet, lightning, all in succession. The papers report that Bradlaugh has been excluded from the Commons on the motion of Sir Stafford Northcote, ensuing upon a judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench (*per* Coleridge, *C. I.* and Stephen *J.*), majority of 108.

Tuesday, 12th.—News of the fall of Sinkat and massacre of garrison. Verses in *Vanity Fair*:—"Another slaughter by Egypt's water, etc." Vote of censure in the House of Lords, 100 majority; vote negatived in Commons by a narrow majority of 13.

Friday, 22nd.—Impertinent letter from Messrs.—and—about undertaking my *History*: no ruder being than a prosperous publisher, a tradesman playing at being Maecenas. They live in opulence, with liveried footmen handing round silver plates; and they drink their champagne—as Tom Campbell said—out of authors' skulls.*

Dynamite explosions apprehended.

Thursday, 28th.—General anxiety about Sir Gerald Graham's position at Suakim† Went with S. to the chapel of the convent in Kensington Square, where the Perpetual Adoration was being held: Ghostlike gliding of nuns in the still precincts rather impressive, even to an outsider: *one* is always on duty, so that the Adoration never ceases.

Heard on coming out that Graham's advance had been stopped. Explosion at Charing Cross, only frustrated by time-fuse not acting as intended.

Tuesday, March 4th.—Meeting in Parliament Street to found "Indian Reform Association." Why?

Wednesday, 5th.—Enormous crush at Lady F's; seven hundred said to have been in the house at once. Performance included selections from an opera called "*Ostrolenko*;" by Bonawitz, who conducted, on piano, a little afterpiece called "*Darby and Joan*," in which only two characters appeared, which were played by George Alexander and Miss Lucy Roche. Among the audience were the Princess Frederica of Hanover and the fair American, Miss Mary Anderson.‡ Refreshments on the scale of gorgeous Ball-supper.

Tuesday, 25th.—Dinner at Northbrook Club: my guest was Lord H. John Bright made a neat and pleasant after-dinner speech.

Sunday, 30th.—To some studios in Kensington. Met Mrs.

* Sir Walter Besant has done much to rectify this.

† General Sir G. Graham, V. C., etc., died at Bideford in the beginning of 1900: one of the bravest and most courteous of Knights.

‡ Afterwards Mme. Navarro de Viana.

Stirling*, an interesting old lady whom I recollect as a lovely young woman and excellent actress when I used to frequent the Haymarket in Buckstone's days. These mornings with the artists—or rather afternoons, but your visit must be before the light fails—are full of pleasure, and you need only pay with a little benevolent appreciation.

Thursday, April 3rd—Attack on Government in Commons: meant evidently to annoy, possibly to defeat and overturn—principally arising out of Egypt and Gordon. Lord Hartington explained refusal of Gordon's application for services of Zebehr Pasha, saying that Government thought risk too great. Gordon had never been promised support from this country, but had full authority to return if he found his task too difficult. He had never asked for military aid, clearly understanding that, if he executed his mission, it must be with resources on the spot.

Friday, 4th.—Lord Granville took up the parable in the Lords, repeating the explanations given in the other Chamber. He said that he himself had been more anxious for Gordon at the beginning of his incumbency in the Sudan than he was now.

Friday, 18th.—Harcourt made speech at Derby yesterday defending action of Government in regard to Gordon: denying most peremptorily that they were indifferent to the interests of "that illustrious man, who had sent no accounts that would intimate that he considered himself in any personal danger at Khartum." Not the sort of thing he would do! A member of his family tells me that every confidence is felt in his resourcefulness.

Met Lord—who said India was as good as lost, and—of course—my pension with it. On my hoping that her Ladyship liked—where she was travelling, he answered—"Yes; and he hoped she would stay there."

Monday, 28th.—Lord Granville announced yesterday that a Joint Commission had been agreed upon between this country and Russia for delimitation of Afghan frontier.

Wednesday, 30th.—To Grosvenor Gallery; meeting Sir R. Cross—an old contemporary at Anstey's, Rugby. Conversation at Ealing in the evening, where I showed some fine photographs of Kauffman's campaign from pictures by Vereschagin—who had given them to me: they excited general attention.

May, Friday, 2nd.—Dinner at Northbrook Club to send off Evelyn Baring.† A distinguished assemblage, including Lords

* Lady Gregory.

† Afterwards so distinguished in Egyptian administration, as Viscount Cromer, G. C. B., etc.

Northbrook, Kimberley, and Lawrence, Sir Ashley Eden, Sir Lewis Pelly, Sir George Kellner, Hon. E. Drummond, Gen. Keatinge, Col. Beynon, and many others, chiefly of the Anglo-Indian type. Lord N. spoke well and Baring excellently, referring to the ability shown in Indian administration and to the want of it in that of Egypt—which, indeed, he called “detestably bad.” Perhaps the contrast may be overworked?

Wednesday, 7th.—Heard that deceased wife’s sister had got through the Commons with over 100 majority. Will the prospect of having only one mother-in-law prove equally seductive to their Lordships in the Upper House?

Monday, 12th.—To Exeter Hall to deliver address on the N.-W. Frontier of India. Col. Malleson in the chair. In subsequent discussion Marvin and Leitner took part. Among others present were Lord S., Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, Messrs. Martin Wood and Seton-Karr. Paper seemed to be favourably received. The situation is exciting; and we hear that Sir Peter Lumsden has been recalled [see note at end of Chapter 7].

Sunday, 18th.—The *Observer* announces that Lord Granville has addressed the Chargé d’affaires at Cairo, directing him to inform Gen. Gordon that, as the original plan for evacuating Khartum proved futile, and there was no immediate prospect of aggressive operations against the Mahdi, he should arrange to remove himself and garrison from Khartum. These middle-aged men (who are no conjurors) remind one of the conjurors of the Middle Ages threatened by their unemployed familiar.

Lord Lytton told me the other day that he liked Watts’ portrait of him in the Grosvenor Gallery. But who can do pictorial justice to those dreamy eyes?

Monday, 19th.—Royal Asiatic dinner, with Sir W. M. in the chair: quite forgot the fixture until too late to go.

Friday 23rd—Forenoon at the Academy; some interesting pictures by artists one knew; Calderon; Prinsep; Solomon; McCallum, etc. Lunched at Club with Sir H. Maine and Matt. Arnold: and played billiards with Sir R. Collier, who told me a curious thing about the Allahabad High Court. He said they had reversed every judgment that had come thence before the P. C. since——had been Chief (I presume he meant “reversed or disturbed.”)

Saturday, 24th—A bachelor dinner party in Cornwall Garden, meeting Lord G. H. and some other M. P.s and journalists: the guest of honour being a young noble from Haidarabad—Nawab Zafar Jang.

Friday, 30th.—Dynamite explosion at Junior Carlton (*paries cum proximus ardet*).—a sad perversion of science that vindicates Irish national aspirations by blowing up London kitchen-maids! Dined at the Wards, meeting Col. Morse, U. S. A., Col. A.

Ward—Miss W.'s brother, formerly in Mr. Washbourne's Embassy at Paris during the great war. The old mother a most able and interesting woman, widow of the son of Gen. W. who commanded the first force raised in the Revolution. Consulted Col. Morse about lecturing in America, and arrived at the conclusion that the Yankees only cared for celebrated names.*

June Tuesday, 3rd.—Played billiards at Athenæum with Sir E. Hamley, who gave me a copy of his Lecture on Merv. In the evening to Globe Theatre, where T. had a box for Lady G. and Mrs. A. The piece was "The Private Secretary," a three Act farce from the German, in which Penley played a weak-minded Curate with astonishing realism. The two widows laughed until they cried.

Tuesday, 10th.—Indian Tableaux by Val. Prinsep at the Prince's Hall : very gorgeous show, with flabby words. Lord Northbrook, Sir Wm. Muir, Gen. Walker, etc.

Monday, 23rd.—"Song of the Bell" Tableaux at Lady F.'s, music by Romberg, on which Lawson had embroidered patterns from himself and Wagner. Lighting better than at Prince's Hall, and show otherwise quite as good.

Saturday, 28th.—Pretty rural house in the heart of "South Kensington" (used to be Brompton when Lady—lived at Eagle Lodge hard by). Met—, a dull old antiquarian who disbelieves the reading of cuneiform and everything but his own digging.

July, Tuesday, 1st.—Took A. to Lord's to see Oxford and Cambridge match, an easy thing for Oxford. A gay gathering, nearly 20,000 passed the turnstiles : met Lord—; Col. W. (10th Hussars), and many other acquaintances.

Tuesday, 15th.—S. Swithin rainy. Dined at Northbrook, Sir H. Maine in chair. Among those present was Sir F. H., who had been high in office when I landed in Bengal 38 years ago, and still looked as strong as possible.†

Friday, 18th.—Sent an article to the *Calcutta*—on the expansion of Indian Railway system, based on the very best information. The House of Commons grants a loan of 28 millions to be spread over five years ; 5,000 miles of new rail being absolutely necessary to protect the country from famine ;—we may say to Britannia: These are imperial Arts, and worthy Thee.

Tuesday, 22nd.—"Special Matinée" at the Globe, to give dramatic and other rights to a new Play, "The Lost Cause ;" title too prophetic, in spite of Miss Lingard and pretty Lucy Buckstone.

* An anecdote illustrative of this was told me long afterwards by Holman Hunt ; as will be recorded in its due order.

† This gentleman entered the service before I was born ; and is alive to this day (January 1900.)

August, Friday, 1st.—Interesting talk at Athenæum with several prominent men. One, a Cabinet Minister, looked white and weary ; and said “he did not like the life ; out of bed till 3 every morning, badgered and baited” (I must not say by whom). He evidently thought it would be a happy release to be turned out, only the Tories could not retain power unless they could get 40 votes—which would involve a transaction with Parnell. Called on Mr. Albert Grey at Dorchester House : magnificent place with some good pictures.

Tuesday, 5th—Dinner at Northbrook : Sir C. Petheram ; * Mr. St. John Ackers, the friend of the dumb ; Sir R. T. and other Anglo-Indian worthies. Lord N. made a nice little speech, and Sir W. H. responded gracefully ; about 120 present. Mr. A. explained his system of lip reading, the essence of which was *no talking on fingers*. Said there were people conducting factories and places where a great many hands worked, the conductors being both dumb and deaf.

[For the next few days travelled in the West ; Malvern, Hereford, and N. Wales. Kind invitation to visit “Tom” Hughes at Chester † which unhappily did not come off, and I never saw him till his death in the Spring of 1886.]

Wednesday, 13th.—To Stratford-on-Avon, the guest of Mr. S. M., who has a charming house there.

Thursday, 14th.—A pleasant day. Visited church and found the famous monument in chancel (appears older than nave). Fine Carew monuments in a side aisle. The bust very convincing ; gives one the idea of having been modelled on a *post mortem* mask ; the cheeks falling. Beautiful house, greenhouses and grounds of the F.s on the river bank. The birth-place a low-ceiled room in the famous old house ; two enthusiastic old ladies live and take care.‡ An oil-picture, given by the late Mr. Hunt, corresponds with the bust if we only suppose it to have been painted during the vigour of life ; said to have been discovered beneath another portrait in a neighbouring manor-house. The Shakspeare Memorial, a handsome building, containing a theatre with fine drop scene by Beverley. Drove along the skirts of the Cotswolds, a landscape the Bard must have often surveyed in his youth. Anne Hathaway’s pretty old cottage at Shottery.

Saturday, 30th.—London season quite over : close time for politics ought to be beginning when that of the partridges ends ; but the buoyant G. O. M. is off to Mid Lothian to seek

* About to sail for India as Chief Justice, N.-W. P.

† Judge of County Court, and famous author of the day [Tom Browne’s *Schooldays*, etc.] We had never met since Rugby days.

‡ Misses Chattaway, now both dead. There are some interesting autographs on the walls. Scott and Tennyson among them.

a fresh lease of popular support among the canny compatriots of those regions. In his "Triumphal Progress" from Hawarden to Dalmeny he sounded the praises of his new Franchise Bill; which, after all, is the logical issue of Dizzy's legislation in 1867.

Wednesday, September 3rd.—In Gladstone's first speech (Edinburgh, 1st current) he claimed that his Bill was a very moderate measure, full of concessions to Tory feeling. He would not wait for Redistribution; and ended by throwing out threats to the Lords. On the following day he took up his parable; concluding by the announcement that Ministers were "considering the best way of fulfilling obligations to Gen. Gordon" (which they had repudiated in May).

Saturday, 13th.—Hinting to a pretty woman's husband about being indulgent, was told in answer that "women were all deceitful." I objected that, if so, it was because men frightened them: they are wild tender things, and if you don't win their trust, their natural defence is to deceive you. Did not think he quite understood.

Friday 19th.—Heard the lady's side of the story, and felt pretty sure that my explanation had been the right one. But they are not much more than casual acquaintances, not what a Frenchman would call "*des amis*;" and I could not do more than profess sympathy and offer *banal* advice.

An eloquent and in all respects remarkable speech by Mr. J. Cowen, M. P. He told the working men that political enfranchisement was nothing unless they could enfranchise themselves mentally and morally. He would warn them against drink and against rash wage-combinations. Of pauperism he said, in conclusion, that "if Society did not settle it, in time it will settle Society."

[*On the 24th.*—I crossed over to Jersey, whither the family had been already despatched. The scene of departure was afterwards idealised, in an imitation of Juvenal's Third *Satire*, published by Vizetelly:—*

"Though Jack's departure leaves one rather low,
I cannot say I thought him wrong to go,
To cross the Channel on a cranky bark
And give one more inhabitant to Sark. . . .
I went to see him off from Waterloo,
Where five-and-twenty shillings booked him through,
Himself and baggage to the station got—
An average four-wheeler held the lot.

etc. etc. etc."

October, Friday, 17th.—Curious experience of Channel Islands law—servants leaving without warning awarded a moiety of wages.

* *Juvenal in Piccadilly*, 1888.

November, Saturday, 1st.—At the Lieutenant-Governor's ; where I met a local antiquary and official who gravely discussed with me the relative claims of French and British citizenship. He decided in favour of the latter ; but only on the principle of *quieta non movere* ; and it seemed altogether a strange subject to be raised in such a place.

December.—Wrote part of paper on Channel Islands for the *Quarterly*.

Tuesday, 30th.—Back to England, having undertaken office of Bear leader to a Raja's younger brother, whom I am to take into London Society, and so forth.

Wednesday, 31st.—A lady writes " this has been an unlucky year, because we did not sit up on last New Year's Eve to see it in." These artificial divisions of time are a strange feature in the artificial lives of civilised beings. Savages, to whom they are unknown, would perhaps call us superstitious. Nothing *really happened* to-night : in fact it is only the end of a year since 1751.

[Among public events in which the diarist had no concern, was the accomplished century of Sir M. Montefiore, celebrated with much *éclat*, at Broadstairs. It might be argued that a century is also an artificial division ; but the interest here is that a distinguished man had publicly declared that no case had ever been proved of a person living 36,500 days ; and this was one. In November a vote was taken for an expedition to rescue Gordon ; which, of course, ought to have been done long before if it was to be done at all—but that was long denied by the Government. On the 20th of November Miss Finney—known on the stage as Miss Fortescue—got heavy damages in an action for breach against the eldest son of Earl Cairns, whose courtesy-title was Lord Garmoye. The case gave rise to the following mild joke :—

"The dearest oil in London is Garm-oil ; ten thousand pounds per gal. (girl !)."

On the 6th December the Franchise Bill was reported to have passed its third reading in the Lords, not without threats—as we have seen—from Gladstone ; enforced by Mr. Chamberlain and other supporters of the policy. The Redistribution Bill—by a compromise—was read a second time in the Commons. It passed next day with slight alterations, and a general sense of relief appeared to prevail. Some thought democracy was a tide which could not be resisted or turned back. Others, taking a less fatalistic view, still seemed to think it better that Demos should be admitted to the freedom of the city than left to batter the walls from without. All alike were glad to get rid of a controversy of which all had grown tired : and the waters closed and the ship held her

way with little change of course. The only subsequent event had nothing to do with the Franchise, being no more than another exhibition of Irish humour in the shape of a dynamite explosion at London Bridge, which did no injury to the pier, though it was said to have shaken a few foot passengers.

I find in my *Memoranda* at the end of this year's Diary a sketch of a book on "Politics for Children," to begin from the Revolution of 1688. It never got beyond *l'état de projet*, but indicates a gap that ought to be someday filled.

ART. V.—GREEK WANDERINGS.

ATHENS.

“πασῶν Ἀθῆναι τιμιωτάτη πόλις—Soph. Oed. Col. 108.

ATHENS at last, and a fine fresh morning after the rain. Nothing is more exhilarating than to rise early every morning, and fare on through the long day to some distant goal; but, after a week or so of this migratory life, it is grateful to settle down once more in a fixed habitation. And Athens, born again out of living death by the birth-pangs of 1821-1829, is a fair and noble city. By a happy fortune, too, the new Athens and the old exist side by side without too confusing an involution. The Acropolis is the connecting link, the common root as it were, and also the centre of divergence. Stand on the Acropolis hill and look one way, you have below you Mars' Hill, the Agora, the Pnyx, the Ceramicus on the edge of an almost unoccupied plain that extends down to Phalerum and the sea. Look the other way, you have the well-ordered expanse of modern Athens, cleft by the broad lines of its main thoroughfares that run between substantial rows of handsome houses in white stone,—a city wide in extent, adorned with public buildings amply proportioned, presenting from every point of view an aspect of spaciousness, airiness and cleanliness. There are but few factory chimneys as yet to mar the harmony of the effect,—alas that there should be any to vomit their foulness over so goodly a city! May it be long before the number is increased: let the factory chimneys be restricted to the Piræus!

A few matters of business claim us this first morning. The traveller who would know his Athens, its life as a city of to-day, as well as its antiquities, should, we hold, hire a permanent lodging, but in other ways keep himself free to go and come, to eat and drink, as he pleases. Therefore it was that we went yesterday to the Hotel Minerva, for says not Murray that at hotels of the second class you can hire a room for 3 drachmas a day, and dine abroad or at home, as you list? But the Minerva, having been recently refurnished, beautified and lighted by electricity, is aspiring, it seems, to the first rank: therefore our little difficulty of last night; for the leading hotels will welcome the stranger only, if he resides, '*en pension*.' However, there is nothing like having your whim while on your travels, and, after a little negotiation, we succeed in making our own terms at the Hotel d'Athènes, which is almost equally well situated. Indeed, when we see the room

offered to us, we conclude the change will be for the better ; the old room gave only prospect of Lycabettus, while this has a little balcony which looks straight on to the Parthenon. This is the room for us.

The afternoon we spend on the Acropolis. We find, with something of a shock, that the whole west front of the Parthenon is hidden in scaffolding ; some great, and it may be good, work is in progress ; but none the less the noble effect of the approach is sadly marred. Moreover, no sight can we now have of the few slabs of the frieze that still remain in position within the peristyle of the temple : for all but one of these are on the west front, engulfed in a forest of scaffolding poles, and even barricaded with a hoarding. There is a wooden structure, too, bisecting the steps of the Propylæa, seemingly a shoot for blocks of stone. There is work going on also upon the eastern face of the Erechtheum, in this case obviously the preparations for taking casts of the moulding of the capitals. Altogether there are signs of very healthy activity on the summit of the Acropolis. But it is none the less bitter from the point of view of the visitor, who misses what he has come to see, and may or may not have chances of sharing the fruits of these labours.

The archæological activity going on in Athens and in Greece generally is, indeed, a little awe-inspiring. What rood of Greek earth will there be left soon which has not been compelled to render up its treasures and their story ? In all the open spaces W. and S. W. of the Acropolis have shafts been sunk, cuttings made, and galleries run. Even on the top of the Acropolis rock important work has been done within the last twelve years in bringing to light masses of masonry that had been buried for ages. All this is cause for rejoicing, except that for the Englishman there may be some shade of regret that the share of his country in the great work is comparatively small. Why is not the British School at Athens better endowed, or more liberally supported ? Why does not the wealthiest nation in the world spend a few thousands out of its superfluous millions in generous rivalry with the Germans and the French, since English culture owes no less to Hellas and the past of Greece than French or German ?

Verily we have profited by yesterday's rain. For the streets of Athens and the Acropolis hill are cool and breezy despite the brilliant sunshine. This afternoon there is a smart shower, and followed by a wonderful double rainbow, one end of the inner arch resting exactly on Mt. Lycabettus. By moving back across the pavement of the Parthenon, we are able to get the east front well under the centre of the rainbow, an effect of colour not to be had every day. The

Acropolis draws and holds the visitor to Athens like a great magnet. On first arrival nothing else seems of any account. Tuesday morning takes us there again. The Theatre of Dionysus lies on the way as we sweep round from the Boulevard Amàlia on the east, and come under the southern face of the rock, the tiers of seats rising one above the other on the lower slope of the cliff itself, and we can conveniently pass through it instead of continuing along by the carriage-road. We have not here the satisfaction of looking on the actual structure in which the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles were first produced: none of the stone work we see is earlier than the time of Lycurgus, in the latter half of the 4th century B. C. To this period belong the marble seats of honour inscribed with the names of the dignitaries to whose office they were severally attached, and the beautiful throne of the Priest of Dionysus; but the actual inscriptions are later, probably of the time of Hadrian. Still at least we are on the site of the more ancient theatre; the seats must have risen over the slope of the rock in much the same fashion, and we can trace the circular outline of the earlier orchestra, if the severer archæological interests appeal to us. No one is about at this early hour but the soldier who acts as guardian, and a few workmen. We take the opportunity of testing for ourselves the acoustic conditions of the ancient Athenian stage. One of us sits aloft on the uppermost tier of seats yet remaining, the other stands on the Logeion, or foot-boards, of later times, and we interchange select quotations from favourite plays. The result is highly satisfactory. Every word can be heard distinctly without any effort at declamation, though we are speaking in the open air and to an empty auditorium, both of which may be reckoned as difficulties. After this we incline to think the traditional masks with their unsightly apparatus for sound to have been an unnecessary disfigurement.

You can scale the rock above the Theatre, if you please, up to the level of the Monument of Thrasyllus, now the chapel of Our Lady of the Golden Cavern (ἡ Παναγία Χρυσοσπηλιώτισσα). You may also climb along under the fine stretch of Hellenic wall on this southern side, accepted as the work of Cimon: a very handsome stretch of wall in almost perfect preservation. You cannot, however, work round over the rock right along to the Propylæa, but must come down again and pass from the Theatre through the Stoa of Asclepius, the Stoa of Eumenes and by the Odeum of Heracles Atticus.

To drive to the platform in front of the Beulé Gate, ascend the steps of the Propylæa, and duly pass round under guidance to the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, the Temple of Nike, the Museum, even to perform a tour laboriously, Murray or

Baedeker in hand, both round the summit and round the base of the Acropolis rock, is, after all, to know very little of the Acropolis of Athens. To know it really and understand its charm aright, you must ascend the Propylæa daily for many days, your guide book left at home; you must wander capriciously from site to site poring over each precious fragment of stone; you must stray at leisure round the battlements poking into every odd corner, and leaning over the parapet at each fresh vantage point to gaze across the plain of Athens and the roofs of the city to the long lines of her engirding hills, or to the harbours and the sea; you must sit on some convenient stone at evening time, and watch the deepening tints of brown and pink and purple over the long ridge of Hymettus, catch the gleam of the white stone on the steep side of Pentelicus, or gaze towards the dip of Daphne and the Thriasian fields and dream of the Persian horsemen winding out of the Pass and spreading among the Athenian homesteads and farms, or see the sun decline over Skarmanga and the western glory spread over the sky from the peaks of Salamis to the ridges and bluff heights of Parnes. You must come down again and clamber and scramble over the wall-crowned steeps, till you know every cave and boulder and practicable ascent on the Acropolis cliffs.

This in some small measure we have done; but it would be long to take the reader up and down and round the whole way with us, and we cannot tell whether his tastes and ours would agree. For the rest a detailed survey of the whole plan of the Acropolis, of all that is found upon its summit and round its base is far beyond the scope of my design. Besides, what is even more effective as a deterrent against any attempt at a systematic account of the Acropolis and Athens, is that these things have been so often and so well described before that it would be rehearsing a thrice-told tale. Here we see what others have seen and much in the same way; there is nothing new to add, unless it were some reflex of the intense pleasure it all was: and even that would be nothing new, and a thing you must really get for yourself. There is no lack of information for those who seek it. There are, first, the formal guide-books very complete and detailed: then classical accounts like Wordsworth's or Mahaffy's; or, in earlier times, Leake's, Chandler's, Wheeler's. And for a brilliant and popular account, informed with the results of latest research, combining freshness of expression and literary charm, even seasoned with the salt of American humour, you should go to Dr. Barrow's "*Isles and Shrines of Greece*" and you will find all you want, including the inspiration of enthusiastic insight. I shall, however, allow myself the license of a little irresponsible comment, guided only

by the arbitrary principle of noticing what specially impressed or interested me.

The Acropolis is a mine of interest perfectly inexhaustible, if you will bring to it some small insight into the principles and details of Hellenic architecture. It is wonderful how a little knowledge lights up a blank wall, or a few dull stones, which without the knowledge you might pass a dozen times without seeing anything remarkable in them. The barest stones are eloquent if you interrogate them aright. Here, for instance, between the Propylæa and the Parthenon, you find grooves cut in the surface of the rock in order to give firmer foothold to man and beast as they went up. Here are manifest fittings for a gateway. There traces of the base of a column or a pedestal. Of singular interest are the protruding knobs, or handles, to be seen in a great number of the marble blocks used in the back wall of each of the wings of the Propylæa; they witness to this day to the fact that the work was suddenly broken off and left unfinished, probably owing to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. These knobs or handles were meant to help in moving the stones and putting them in position: they were to be chipped off afterwards, and the whole surface of the wall was to be finished uniformly. You can see in the South West wing, behind the little temple of Nike, how some have already been removed and the stone finished off; others have been just chipped and left in the rough, while in other cases, again, the projection has not as yet been touched. You can trace the line along which the masons were working when their labours were cut short.

Even more curious is a small pedestal on this same side of the Propylæa (S.), and close to the corner column, with an inscription to Athena Hygieia, for there is a tradition, preserved by Plutarch, that a statue was dedicated by Pericles himself to Athena in this character of Healer, in gratitude for the recovery of a favourite workman of the architect who fell from the Propylæa (when in course of construction) on this spot, and received serious injuries. Pericles dreamed a dream that Athena appeared to him, and bade him use a certain herb for the injured man's recovery. The herb was applied, the man cured, and here is the pedestal of the statue that Pericles* set up.

Altogether a corner of extraordinary interest this at the South-West extremity of the rock behind the Temple of Nike and the S. wing of the Propylæa. There is, besides, a great

* Unfortunately for this story, the inscription on the pedestal records a dedication by the Athenians. Yet this is surely a case in which poetry is more philosophical than history. Fraser's Paus. I. p. 277-9.

angle of Pelasgic wall, deep down beside the site of the ancient temple of Artemis. Quite a tangle of walls is discernible in the deep pit that has been scooped out, and it is on the blocks of the walls of the Propylæa rising above this to the west that the handles spoken of above are most conspicuous. From this south-west corner, too, the wretched defenders of the Acropolis in 480 B.C. are said to have flung themselves when the Persians scaled the opposite summit, even as the Rajpoots by the Johur Tank at Gwalior and with more deliberateness the Albanian women at Suli.

The caves round the Acropolis rock form a special feature. We have already noticed the cave above the Theatre of Dionysus which now forms a Christian church: you may see the light burning in a coloured lantern there at night. On the north side of the Acropolis, a little east of the Propylæa, are the two caves of Apollo and of Pan, high-pitched and shallow. The first of these is that connected with the story of the Ion of Euripides. Of a more thrilling interest is a third cave, considerably further along this north side. It is identified as the cave of Aglauros. It once communicated by a staircase with the summit of the Acropolis a little west of the Erechtheum. Scale the not very formidable barrier of stone fragments and go down—warily, for there is good need of wariness. After a dozen steps or so the staircase breaks off abruptly, and you look dimly into a deep, and narrow chasm, through which comes a glimmer of light from below. Murray (col. 367) suggests the investigation of this rift by the aid of a rope. But there is a readier method. Climb up over the rock a little beyond the tiny chapel at the north-west corner of the Acropolis and make your way along and up till you come to a narrow rift leading right into the side of the cliff. Wriggle yourself through this opening—you will need to wriggle slightly, for the rift, though high enough and not too narrow for a human body of average length and breadth, has a twist in the middle, and to this you must conform your shape. Once within this, the passage widens and you go forward quite easily: it is four or five feet wide at the bottom and wider above. This passage extends onwards along the face of the cliff some 30 yards, till you are directly under the broken stairway from the summit. You are inside a great cleft running lengthwise through the living rock and stretching some 40 or 50 feet above your head. Further progress is obstructed by a stone barricade, but you easily surmount this obstacle and can then make your way into the cave of Aglauros, which is a lofty arched cavern like the others on this side, but less shallow. There are a few more stairs beyond the barrier, but they end here, so that it is evident that the stairs led from this cave to the summit of the Acropolis.

It was at this point and possibly by this very stairway that the Persians scaled the rock and got possession of the Acropolis in 480 B.C. More probably the assailants contrived to climb in over the cliff. For Herodotus, though he records that they got up by the shrine of Aglauros, daughter of Cecrops, says nothing of the betrayal or discovery of the secret stairs, and there is fair probability that the cliff was scaleable. The best test of this probability is to try it for yourself. This we accordingly did, starting from below somewhat west of the cave, and found no special difficulty. To get actually on to the platform of the Acropolis the masonry at the top must be climbed hand over hand, and you make your entry exactly at the angle in the wall a little west of the Erechtheum, where there is a small breach over which a rough board has been placed. The latest stormer of the Acropolis, my companion in travel, attained the summit precisely at this breach.

The changes in the appearance of the Acropolis since the Turkish garrison vacated it, as a fortress, in 1833, have been very great. Towers, bastions, redoubts, and a great number of buildings, large and small, have been bodily removed, the approach has been entirely altered, for when the Acropolis was a Turkish fortress, the entrance was not through the Propylæa, but from a point further S., and we owe to Queen Amalia the fine road that sweeps up to the platform before the Beulé Gate. An outer Turkish gate was removed from this platform only in 1886. The clumsy mass of Roman masonry known as the Beulé Gate was unearthed in 1853. Tons upon tons of accreted matter have been removed from the base and sides. Vast accumulations of soil and a confused mass of mediæval and modern buildings have been cleared off the summit. There is a sharp conflict of opinion as to the expediency of removing all post-classical structures from the top of the Acropolis. "On the hill of the Acropolis and its buildings the whole history of Athens, from its earliest to its latest days, has been clearly written, and there it may still be clearly read wherever the barbarism of classical pedantry has not wiped out the record." (*Studies of Travel*, pp. 19, 20.) So Freeman states the ground of objection in his usual trenchant manner. The destruction of the record moves him to anger. "We can conceive nothing," he says, "more paltry, nothing more opposed to the true spirit of scholarship, than these attempts to wipe out the history of any age." (*Ib.*, p. 29.) The work of clearance has gone on in spite of Freeman's denunciations, and for our part we agree with Professor Mahaffy in rejoicing thereat. What is of priceless value for us is to recover and comprehend as much as possible of the great works of the best time of Hellenic architectural and

artistic genius. Nothing else matters very much. Anything that detracted from the unity and symmetry of that effect was better away. The retention of relics of a quaint mediævalism has, in comparison, very little weight in the scale. As to the historical aspect, the history was melancholy, deplorable, better forgotten, except occasionally for disciplinary purposes, when the revived spirit of modern Hellas tends to become overweeningly puffed up with the world's homage to Hellenic antiquity. Or, if not to be forgotten, yet not for ever to be obtruded painfully upon the sight by buildings that mar the æsthetic symmetry of the Acropolis as a monument of ancient Athens. Freeman's principle, if pressed, would be inimical to every sort of restoration, repair or improvement; would condemn the removal of whitewash from all panelling, and plaster from the carved screen. Hardly might we set up the chimney overturned in a memorable storm, or repair the breaches in a bombarded fortress. We must remember that, before this work of clearance began, the columns of the Propylæa were actually embedded in a wall of solid masonry,* as may be seen in one of Dodwell's extremely interesting pictures. One seeks in vain for a satisfactory compromise between leaving all in the state to which neglect and barbarism had reduced the Acropolis, and a thorough-going clearance. We do not certainly wish to see the Acropolis as Chandler saw it in 1765, and join in his regrets, when he writes: "The spectator views with concern the marble ruins intermixed with mean flat-roofed cottages, and extant amid rubbish the sad memorials of a nobler people." We even think the process of purgation might still with advantage be carried one or two steps further. The base of the equestrian statue of Agrippa is an unsightly block having no historical significance worth keeping, still less any essential relation to the Propylæa it disfigures. The Beulé Gate is confessedly no integral part of the original design for ennobling the approach to the Parthenon. It is heavy and ugly in itself, distracts the view of the true Propylæa and mars the due stateliness of the effect. It would be a real gain to get rid of both.

The supreme glory of the Acropolis is the Parthenon. In beauty, as distinct from grandeur, the Erechtheum comes not far behind. The little temple of Athene Nike has a unique charm. It is impossible to leave the Acropolis without a passing homage to these greatest things. There are weighty

*Both the Propylæa and the adjoining buildings have been considerably defaced in modern times; of the former the intercolumniation has been closed with a wall, so that not half the thickness of the column is seen and they thus appear destitute of proportion and elegance.

volumes that treat of them with becoming fulness. But mere idle comment is hushed in the presence of beauty so sublime, and, in its mutilation, so pathetic. But, though you read all the books before you go, yet, standing on the summit of the Acropolis rock with the Athenian skies above your head, and these splendid marble ruins before your eyes, you shall say 'surely the half was not told me.' The beauty and the wonder are inexhaustible; nay, as with noble music, the harmony grows upon us, as we grow more familiar with its elements, and the last visit to the Parthenon is the most rich in delight.

The source of the impression in the case of the Parthenon would seem to be the unity and grandeur of the design—sheer magnificence, that is scale and proportion combined; for the subtler beauties have been shorn away with the destruction of the pediment sculptures, and the removal of the frieze. Even in this wasted state, torn and rent by the explosion caused by Morosini's shell, it is a structure of surpassing beauty. Perhaps the ruins even gain something through the forces of associative suggestion. In the case of the Erechtheum it is variety, graceful symmetry, and the marvellous richness of detail. It is needless to say anything of the charm of the Caryatides, eternally patient in endurance, yet supporting their burden with easy grace. In the temple of Wingless Victory we find the contrasted beauty of miniature. It is to the Parthenon as the carved jewel to the marble statue, each perfect in its kind.

The Museum is a dull looking building; but, besides much else of very great interest, it contains the loveliest piece of carved stone extant in the world, not excepting those matchless fragments of the sculptures from the Parthenon gable ends in the British Museum. You will find in Room IX the three well-known reliefs from the balustrade of the Temple of Nike. It is the second of these which displays such superlative skill, a perfection of mastery more than human. And this in two respects; the exquisite loveliness of the form itself and the subtle art by which the solid marble is presented to the eye as transparent drapery: this last is sheer wizardry. The other two slabs are beautiful, though not so marvellous as this.

Next to the Acropolis no spot in Athens will be so dear to the lover of Hellenic antiquity as the Ceramicus and the Street of Tombs, though for different reasons. Here, instead of the glories of art and architecture, which are almost divine, it is a gentle human interest, the pensive suggestion of the everyday joys and sorrows of Hellenic life 2000 and more years ago, with which the place is haunted. When I first saw it, it was an untidy piece of waste ground adjoining the high way to

the Piræus—at least such is my remembrance of it—not the orderly enclosure with railings and a gate (a little like a metropolitan church-yard) that it is today. But the charm was as great or greater, for the asphodels grew plentifully among the tombs, and to-day, despite the better order, the general aspect is rather bald and unattractive. We want an Athenian Society for the reclamation of grave yards to turn it into a pleasant garden and so help to supply one of the greatest wants of modern Athens, gardens and green verdure. Most of the best stelæ have been long ago taken away and placed in the National Museum, but enough are left in place to enable you, with the help of a little imagination, to build up a picture of the ancient aspect of this highway of the dead.

The enclosure includes also the Dipylon and a most interesting portion of the ancient walls of the city. The whole space enclosed is a considerable area, but it lies a little out of the way and is not very readily found. The safest way of reaching it is to follow down the road to the Piræus from the Foundling Hospital, till you come, on your left, to the railing of the enclosure, which cannot be mistaken, since the tombs and the Dipylon beyond are visible from the road. The Dipylon itself is really close to Hermes Street and the Theseum.

When you have found it, go first to the further extremity of the enclosure, even to the boundary wall on that side. So will you the better understand whereabouts you are in ancient Athens and how things looked in other days. If you stand behind the masses of masonry on the right and face towards the Piræus road, you have in front of you the great double gate through the walls of Athens, now called the Dipylon named also the Ceramic Gate (because the part of the wall it pierced separated the inner from the outer Ceramicus) and the Thriasian Gate (because the road through it led to the Thriasian plain). The Gate is double, in that there is an inner and an outer portal, with a courtyard between, 132 feet in length and 60 broad. The larger mass of masonry is on the right of the inner gateway, and well in the centre is a fragment of a round altar still showing the remains of an inscription to Zeus and Hermes. You cross the broad space of the open court and come to the outer gate which pierces the actual walls of Athens. A block of masonry is left, which occupies the centre of the roadway in a line with the altar of Zeus, and there is another mass adjoining the remains of the wall running along to the left. In this direction the line of the old wall can be traced most plainly for 100 feet or more, and not one line of walls only, but two. The first, *i. e.*, the inner line of masonry, is the Wall of Themistocles; the second, or outer, running parallel to it some 20 feet further towards

the Piræus Road, is a wall of later date, perhaps of the time of Conon. The Wall of Themistocles is especially interesting, for it bears witness at this day to the truth of Thucyclides' story of the haste with which the walls of Athens were built in order to circumvent Spartan jealousy. In the momentous year 480 B.C. Xerxes and the Persians got possession of Athens and the Acropolis, and levelled, or, at all events, broke down the fortifications. After the destruction of the host of Mardonius at Plataea in 479, the Athenians set about rebuilding their city. But the Spartan Government looked with no friendly mind on the prospect of a restored Athens stronger by reason of the ordeal through which she had perilously, but triumphantly, passed. They were better pleased with an Athens without walls. So they opened friendly negotiations and pointed out that it was far better for Greek cities to remain unwalled like Sparta herself. Themistocles received this disinterested advice in a spirit no less amicable. By his advice the Athenians agreed to despatch commissioners to discuss the matter at Sparta and sent Themistocles himself as one of them. It was understood that the others would follow. But Themistocles charged the Athenians to push on the work with all speed and to delay the departure of the other envoy until the wall was high enough to be defensible. Every able-bodied Athenian worked night and day on the defences. Themistocles meanwhile put off the Spartan authorities on various pretexts. At last the message came that the work was well-advanced. Themistocles then informed the Spartan Government that it was too late now to discuss the matter, as the walls were already built. Thus it was that the walls of Athens and the defences of the Acropolis were thrown up in hot haste, irregularly and of any materials that came to hand—rough stones, fragments of columns, broken slabs, stelæ, bits of ornamental work from houses and temples, all the odds and ends, in fact, that came to hand—solid stone of some sort to face the wall and a jumble of rubble inside. Even so may you see it with your eyes to-day in the portion of the wall still standing between the remains of the Dipylon and the place of tombs. The most remarkable piece of the wall is to the left (beyond the small gate that fronts the street and tombs) where the bare rocks begins to show and the ground rises in the swell that ultimately forms the Hill of the Nymphs. It is here quite 12 feet high, and shows the characteristics just described most plainly. You can walk along the top, and decipher, if you like, the fragments of inscriptions, still remaining on some of the stones.

In the first piece of the wall three other things are remarkable. The first is the extraordinary way in which one

corner of the big building (supposed to be the Pompeion) of which a part of the massive outline is left, cuts right into the city wall; one angle of the Pompeion actually makes part of the wall of the city. The second is the boundary post between the Inner and Outer Ceramicus, to be found 15 yards to the left along the wall from the Dipylon. It is a plain stone with the inscription 'Ὁρος Κεραμεικου' cut upon it vertically. The third is the supposed Sacred Gate further again to the left, which forms a break between this and the second and more remarkable stretch of wall that reaches to the rock.

It is a base fabrication, the suggestion that this break in the wall is merely an outlet for the stream of the Eridanus, or, in plain English, a sort of drain. Standing at the Sacred Gate, you look down the Street of Tombs and see the road curving before you and presently dividing into two branches, one branch continuing the Sacred Way to Eleusis, the other turning left and following something the direction of the present high way to Piræus.

The second City Wall, a few feet in advance of the Wall of Themistocles, and running parallel to it, is better built and somewhat thicker, but has nothing like the same interest. On the extreme left, where the ground rises, it apparently made a circuit round the hill, instead of going over it, thus enlarging the boundaries within the walls.

We now leave the walls and saunter down the Street of Tombs. They still make a broken line on either side of us, though sadly thinned, as has been said. Looking to the monuments on the left hand, one comes first on a plain pillar bearing simply the name Πυθαγορος. A little further—after a great gap—is the famous tomb sculptured with the figure of young Dexileos. Dexileos was a youth of a noble Athenian family serving in the cavalry in the year 394. He fell at Corinth along with four other young knights. The sculpture represents Dexileos on horseback piercing a fallen enemy with his lance. The inscription is very clear and runs:—

ΔΕΞΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΙΟΘΟΡΙΚΙΟΣ
ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΓΓΙΣΤΕΙΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΟΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ
ΑΓΕΘΑΝ ΕΕΓΕΥΒΟΛΙΔΟ
ΕΓΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΓΕΝΤΕΙ ΓΓΕΩΝ

Then after another gap we come to a farewell scene inscribed ΚΟΡΑΛΛΙΟΝ ΑΓΑΘΩΝΟΣ ΓΥΝΗ. Next under a large niche, now empty, are the following graceful lines:

Σῶμα μὲν ἔνθαδε σὸν, Διονύσιε, γαῖα καλύπτει
ψυχὴν δὲ ἀθανάτων κοινὸς ἔχει ταμίας·
σοῖς δὲ φίλοις καὶ μητρὶ κασιγνήταις τε λέλοιπας

πένθος ἀειμνηστον σῆς φιλίας θ' ἕμερος
 δίσσαι δ' αὖ πατρίδας σῆ, μὲν φύσει ἡδὲ νόμοισιν
 ἔστερξαν πολλῆς εἵνεκα σωφροσύνης·

Further on is a Molossian dog (conspicuous in photographs of the tombs) and a very quaint group representing a funeral feast above, and Charon and his boat below. It is to be noticed that Charon has oars enough to man an eight. The much-admired Tomb of Hegeso is to be found in the space behind, on rather higher ground. Following now the right hand series from the Dipylon outwards as before, we find first a small sculpture of a horseman with a spear and the inscription ΕΝΗΣΚΑΛΛΙΟΥ ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ ΧΑΙΡΕ. After that is a plain vase, and then a family tomb with only two roseates for ornamentation, but curiously inscribed with a series of names. Thus :

ΚΟΡΟΙΒΟΣ
 ΚΛΕΙΔΗΜΙΔΟ
 ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ
 ΚΛΕΙΔΗΜΙΔΗΣ
 ΚΟΡΟΙΒΟΥ
 ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ
 ΚΟΡΟΙΒΟΣ
 ΚΛΕΙΔΗΜΙΔΟΥ
 ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ
 ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΣ
 ΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ
 ΕΙΤΕΑΙΟΣ

The first three are evidently three generations of one family, the fourth name may or may not be connected. What is more curious, is the extraordinary variance in the skill with which the letters are cut. The first is quite well-done, the second very badly ; the third is a considerable improvement on the second, though not nearly as well done as the first: the fourth is worse than the third, but not so bad as the second.

A little further on is another farewell scene inscribed

ΔΕΞΙΚΛΕΙΑΦΙΝΩΝΟΣΕΙΞΟΙΟΥ
 ΑΡΧΙΑΣΓΥΒΙΟΥΓΟΤΑΜΙΟΣ

Behind to the right is another good-bye over the tomb of a child, the little Eucoline. There are three figures besides the child, a man and two women. The inscription runs

ΠΡΩΤΟΝΟΗΝΙΚΟΣΤΑΘΕΥΚΟΛΙΝΗ.

There is a special charm about the stelæ found here under the sky in the place where love first planted them, which

makes this enclosure by the Piræus Road for me almost the best loved corner of Athens. But anyone who feels the pathetic attraction of these Athenian memorials to loved ones taken away, will find a far greater number in the National Museum, including the most artistic and the best preserved. Many have written of these most touching of all tokens of human affection for the dead—of their tenderness, their grace, their subtle pathos. I know not how it may be with others, but for me these simple and natural scenes, these quiet farewells, have a more moving power than cemeteries and their trappings of woe. None of them can be called representations of sorrow; or, if at all, very rarely: there is no direct appeal to the fount of tears, scarcely even a suggestion of grief and loss; and yet, in their very restraint and reticence, in their very silence, their resolute setting aside of cruel fact, their defiance of the great Destroyer, there is a more poignant force, an appeal, which seems to bring close home the pathos of human life and love, the anguish of parting. Many of them are scenes of parting (though even this has been questioned): no tears, no wringing of hands, nothing but the quiet, tender clasping of hands, a simple good-bye, calmly and tranquilly spoken, though it is good-bye for ever. They are so purely and utterly human, the natural man at his best and most refined. For, of course, if they say nothing of the terrors of death, neither have they anything to say of the hope of meeting again. They accept the fact of separation simply, courageously, with resignation. And yet we find in them just that spirit of calm courage and acquiescence which is so strangely lacking in the Christian attitude. They realise in practice, what the Christian theory enjoins, but the Christian practice too often ignores, that death is nothing to lament over. They refuse, as it were, to admit the sadness of death. If this is true of the scenes of parting, still more obviously is it true of other favourite types of representation, a warrior in his armour, a domestic scene, a youth playing with a dog, a child with a bird: all these speak of the untroubled current of every-day life, and only in the subtlest way suggest its sudden interruption and close. Nearly all are beautiful, some exquisitely so.

ART. VI.—REIS AND RYOT IN UPPER INDIA,

IN his speech at the grand durbar held at Lucknow in December last, Lord Curzon paid a tribute to Sir Antony MacDonnell's administration, and, in particular, to his legislative abilities. Without saying that the compliment was undeserved, it may be worth while, now that the excitement of the Viceregal visit is over, to enquire how far the amenities to which it gave rise are justified from the standpoint of provincial exigency. In other words, the question I propose to ask is, to what extent do the legislative principles which Lord Curzon had in mind indicate a wholesome sense of responsibility in the administration concerned? If it is a peculiarity of the legislator to also pose as a philanthropist, there is not the least doubt that Sir Antony MacDonnell can fill the rôle as well as anyone: but, though the public have too much confidence in his resources to imagine for a moment that such is his intention, it would still be hard to explain how two such measures as the Oudh Settled Estates Bill and the North-Western Provinces Rent Act Amendment Bill came to find a place in the legislative programme. As regards the former, it would be outside my present purpose to enquire how the taluqdars first came into existence, or what their precise rights and privileges were in the pre-mutiny days; but it is safe to assume that it was only after the British occupation of Oudh that they were recognised as a community. When the change of *régime* was effected, all existing taluqdari institutions, so far as they could be ascertained, were confirmed by special pledge of the Government of India, and amongst them was the absolute right of the taluqdars to deal with their estates as they pleased; or, as the *sunnuds* put it, every taluqdar had "a permanent, hereditary and transferable proprietary right in his estate, with full power to sell, mortgage, give or bequeath it as he pleases."

Against this concession Sir Charles Wingfield, then Chief protested; but Lord Canning, holding that, if an aristocracy Commissioner of Oudh, had to be created at all it should be in estate and not in name only, overruled the objection, and so the taluqdars were launched into their new sphere of life with the Viceregal blessing and an admonition to make good use of their opportunities.

But the best laid schemes o' mice an' men gang aft aghley, as the Scotch poet put it: and if ever there was a provoking commentary on the vanity of human expectations, it is to be found in the admittedly bad use that the taluqdars have made

of their princely resources. For years past their growing indebtedness has been a source of anxiety to the provincial officials, and many have been the efforts to redeem them from the extinction with which, every now and again, they are threatened, first by the Oudh Taluqdars' Relief Act of 1870, and now by a measure which, it is hoped, will embody the saving grace in a form to allow of future generations being benefited even more than the present. The intention of the Oudh Settled Estates Bill, now before the provincial Legislative Council, is to curtail the power of the taluqdars to alienate their estates, and it may be aptly described as a grand effort on the part of Sir Antony MacDonnell to find a solution for a contingency which has hitherto defied the best intelligence of Anglo-Indian legislators. That its conception is charitable, I presume no one who is at all acquainted with its provisions, will deny. The work of redemption has this gratifying feature, too, that it disarms criticism, and places the critic in the position of one who is forced to admire in spite of himself. No matter how frail the design, if it has the least show of saving, it forthwith appeals to our sympathy and extracts from us a response which, had it been anything else, would be impossible in an age imbued with the truth of Carlyle's dictum that the barrenest of mortals is the sentimentalist.

When I say that this is precisely how one feels in regard to the Oudh Settled Estates Bill, I have pretty well exhausted all that can be said in its favour. Intrinsically it has little to recommend it, and the more it is examined the more apparent it becomes that it is at best a fanciful solution of the trouble in hand. To a certain extent it will preserve the taluqdars; but will it make them any the happier, or worthier of preservation, if there be the same incubus of debt and the same depressing influences as exist now? Even if we restrain a man from disposing of his mess of pottage, it is quite certain that no legislation will prevent him from incurring fresh debts or transmitting the tendency to his son, or *per se* create an assurance that every occupant of a *gaddi* in Oudh will not be as hopelessly bankrupt as his predecessors were before him. The official contention is that merely as a political safeguard, it is necessary to preserve the taluqdars—by reducing them to the condition of life tenants. The contingency had not, indeed, been overlooked by Lord Canning, being specifically referred to in the Government of India despatch to Sir Charles Wingfield; but it was condemned as derogatory to the state of aristocracy, if not actively injurious to its best interests. I am inclined to think that the Viceregal decision was not altogether impolitic, in view of the impossibility, then as now manifest, of having one law to regulate so many diverse

interests, as regards race and religion, as the taluqdars embody. The very fact that the Oudh Settled Estates Bill is permissive shows that Sir Antony MacDonnell is by so means certain of his ground, while the additional circumstance that no taluqdar is bound to conform to its provisions will go far to rehabilitate Lord Canning's judgment in the estimation of practical men. To them it will be apparent that just as the nominal preservation of estates is no gain to the country at large, so no amount of gubernatorial coddling will secure for the aristocracy of Oudh what can only accrue from an unreserved acceptance of the maxim that righteousness alone exalteth a nation. In the absence of this preliminary requisite to prosperity there will be nothing to prevent the life estates contemplated in the Bill from being misused by each holder as he comes into possession, or obviate the decree-holder being in full enjoyment of the baronial income for a series of years which can be indefinitely prolonged by a father and son acting in conjunction.

At a recent meeting of the Legislative Council Sir Antony MacDonnell, somewhat curiously, anticipated the adverse criticism which future historians of India would pass on a large portion of our land legislation. If this means that his own will be favoured as an exception, the complacency will, I fear, not be shared by others, in the face of the subsequent admission that much of our agrarian policy "has been based upon ideas which were peculiarly English and which found no analogy in the institutions or in the traditions of this country." Are we to assume from this that the Oudh Settled Estates Bill is a peculiarly native inception? What is one to make of this astounding pronouncement, or of the still more astounding inference that the importation into India of ideas which had their origin in feudal England has had a far-reaching evil effect, except that they constitute so much legislative prancing and are not meant to be taken seriously? Moreover, how is one to account for a policy which on the face of it bears the impress of fatuity. If the native landowner is to survive as a unit of the higher social system of the country, it can only be by the exercise of his own powers and not through any unmerited assistance from the Government. What La Bruyère said is true for all time, that, if it is a happiness to be nobly descended, it is not less so to have so much merit that nobody enquires whether we are so or not. This is precisely what Sir Antony MacDonnell ignores when he steps forward as the saviour of the taluqdars, not because, it is claimed, they are worthy men, but because they are nobly born. It seems to me we are overdoing this birth business in India. When the Statutory Civil Service was inaugurated it was the

openly avowed purpose of the Government of India to utilize it as an opening for the sons of men with territorial influence. It was urged that something ought to be done for them, just to keep them out of mischief as it were, and the result was that a large number of budding rajahs were thrust into the public service with little or no regard for educational or other qualifications. That the statutory civilian failed to excite admiration, and was properly condemned, was only natural, and it is not surprising that he is being got rid of altogether, though some representatives, like Rajah Chitpal Singh who was recently dismissed for gross incompetency, are still alive to mark the blind policy of the past.

In the case of the taluqdars old families may be worth preserving from a sentimental point of view, but in the absence of permanent affluence they must degenerate into curiosities, in spite of extraneous aid. Legislate as and when we may, the fact cannot be got over that in their hands alone lies the work of redemption.

As I have said before the mere protection of land from being sold, either as a voluntary act or in execution of legal decrees, cannot obviate the real trouble, so long as individual life estates may be vitiated, and there is no assurance that the coming generation of taluqdars will be morally impervious to debt: all that it will do is to hide the character of the trouble by the creation of a hope, which in all probability will prove false, that the future will be an improvement on the past. For my part I see no reason to object to the transfer of estates to new men, provided full value is obtained on the transaction. At present what every indebted landowner who is pushed into a corner may justly complain of is the cruel way in which the law operates by depriving him of the right to object to a sale on the ground of insufficient consideration. No matter how valuable a property may be, if there be no defect in the sale procedure it must stand, and in places where sales are badly attended, and there is scarcity of buyers, it often happens that the unfortunate owner gets little or nothing for his patrimony. I know of a case in which some valuable stock of a taluqdar was sold under judicial orders and bought by a speculative lawyer for a thousand rupees, the same stock being almost immediately afterwards re-sold to the original owner for six thousand rupees—deferred payment, of course. It is a law which allows atrocities like this to be perpetrated that needs amending, and it only shows how little our legislators know what they are doing when they ignore real defects in the administration in favour of supposed ones. This is a somewhat serious charge to make: yet it is one which, I am convinced, will bear investigation.

That there is nothing politically or socially injudicious in taluqdari properties being sold, provided always full value is obtained for them, is very conclusively established I think in the last Lucknow Settlement Report, which states that in cases where sales have taken place the new proprietors invariably make better landlords than the old. While this is only natural, it also indicates the wide scope of the benefit which the transferred relationship affords to the country at large. Far be it from me to unduly depreciate the Oudh taluqdars, some of whom are excellent individuals in their way, generous and noble and keenly alive to the responsibilities of their position. But it is no part of legislation to concern itself in essence with the social status of the people whom it affects. Both Buckle and Lecky have told us that expediency alone should be the aim of the legislator. Where is the expediency, however, of class legislation of which the only apparent object is to preserve old families (many of whom, by the way, are not so old after all) regardless of the consideration whether they are worth preserving or not? If the *nouveaux riches* subserve the material ends of the nation, it is surely imprudent to stem a tide which is admittedly flowing in their favour.

Probably the Indian official has other views, and I am aware that the prospect of a discarded aristocracy giving trouble is a perpetual nightmare to him. It is pointed out that the taluqdars are the natural leaders of the people, and on that very account are entitled to generous manipulation. I am willing to allow that many old families are looked up to in Oudh, as elsewhere, but that they have any irrevocable hold on the popular mind is an exaggeration which no one who knows anything of Indian agricultural life will entertain. There is, I believe, a rural saying, *bhere jahan jaigi katri jaigi*, which leaves no doubt that Hodge in India is perfectly alive to his own special interests; so it is idle to argue that it is only by humouring the classes that we can hold the masses.

This is precisely what the conception of the Oudh Settled Estates Bill conveys. If it has been found that the transfer of taluqdari properties to new men is attended with good results in the shape of better land-lords, it is obviously not to the advantage of the cultivating population, or the country in general, to have the old order perpetuated on the score of sentiment alone. Personally I have no great regard for the new man, who is generally a vakil redolent of wealth gotten through a complex, and in some respects unsuitable, system of litigation, but the fact that he has both money and brains cannot be ignored in an unbiased consideration of the issues at stake. There is this advantage, too, that in the case of the self-made individual there is no false dignity or reserve:

being new, he is anxious to please a tenantry on whose good will he is clever enough to see depends the value of his acquisition. Above all he has no whims to gratify. Only the other day the death occurred of a taluqdar who is credited with having spent three thousand rupees on a marriage between a mouse and a doll. When people are thus bent on vitiating wealth, they accentuate the need for a strict enforcement of merit.

The question arises, will the taluqdars recognise the obligation? I doubt it. Of course the miraculous may happen in the future as it has happened in the past; but taking into account the slow rate of moral progress in India, and the insuperable obstacles to reform which custom and prejudice present, there is not much hope that the coming generation of Oudh land-owners will be very different from the present or their exigencies any the less embarrassing.

The most suggestive commentary on the subject was afforded by a native member of the Legislative Council, one of the new order of self-made men, who attributed the sale of old estates to avoidable extravagance and incompetence on the part of the taluqdars in the first place, and unavoidable inflictions in the second. No legislation will obviate the former, and, as to the latter, clearly the best thing to do is to eradicate them as far as circumstances will permit. In either case what has the Oudh Settled Estates Bill to offer by way of relief? Unless social exigencies materially alter in the future, we may take it that the same necessity for spending money will exist. The grand nautch, the *burra jalsa*, the indispensable retinue of servants, the magnified zenana, the permanent establishment of dancing girls, the more legitimate, but none the less ruinous, expenditure necessary for the marriage of sons and daughters, the elephants and horses and carriages, and last, but not least, the pastime dear to the native aristocrat, of fighting his neighbour in court, if for nothing else, at least, to show who has the longest purse—all these are features which will mark the life of the future taluqdar. precisely, as they do that of the present; nor can it be hoped that Nature will change, or that the monsoon of the twentieth century will be less erratic than it is to-day, or famine be a visitation of the past: so that, look at it as we may, distress must exist so long as the causes contributing to it are not removed. I do not see what good is to be derived from a condition of life which legislation invests with the mask of affluence but which is really rotten within.

Moreover the fact that the Oudh Settled Estates Bill will prevent legitimate mortgage must tend to raise the rate of

interest, since no recognised banker will find it worth his while to do business on the slender security of a life tenancy, and so there will be a large addition to the class of usurers who for exorbitant profits will lend money on them. This alone is sufficient to condemn the measure. For years past it has been the expressed object of the Government to pulverise the mahajan: yet here we have a measure which will give that *bête noir* of Indian agricultural life new opportunities for the exercise of his villainy. It would be hard to say how such an issue, fraught as it is with highly pernicious effects, was overlooked in the legislative purview, and I can only ascribe it to an over-sanguine temperament failing to recognise that necessity knows no restraint. Probably Sir Antony MacDonnell thinks that being deprived of the power to mortgage or sell their properties, the taluqdars will promptly acquiesce in the altered condition and live without borrowing. If they do, the gubernatorial claim to be accounted among the prophets will be past all dispute: if they do not, no one who knows anything of high life in India, with its love of pomp and splendour, will be very much surprised. Personally I shall be glad to acknowledge an error, but under present circumstances I cannot help regarding the Oudh Settled Estates Bill as being based upon a perverted estimate of human nature. What a source of comment for the future historian of India in the picture, thus presented, of trying to do too much! Yet this is precisely what our legislative efforts often amount to. One year the country will ring with anathemas against the usurious mahajan, and judicial officers will be impressed with the urgency of crushing him: the next will see a complete reversal of the policy, or such a modification of it as will practically defeat its purpose.

I do not know that, in dealing with the taluqdari system, or, indeed, any Indian question, much good can be derived by unreserved reliance on the inspiration of so egotistical a writer and administrator as Sir John Strachey, whose opinion on the subject the official apologists quote with much gusto and approval, since to talk of the pre-mutiny taluqdars holding their estates "subject to the conditions of the Hindu or Mahomedan or Local Law" is to travesty history by investing the Nawabi princes with a judicial power of control they did not possess.

No doubt, succession was governed in simple cases by existing custom, but there was nothing to prevent a strong taluqdar from shaping the family history as he thought fit. The principle of primogeniture was, indeed, so restricted, that Sir Charles Wingfield had to resort to exaggeration in pleading for the acceptance of his views by the Viceroy. Moreover, even if one were to admit that the Indian con-

ception of the fitness of things is opposed to the policy inaugurated by Lord Canning, in what way will the Oudh Settled Estates Bill improve the situation? If it is to obviate sub-division, as part of the larger policy of integration, the end will be no more acceptable now to the Hindu mind than formerly. Here, too, the restrictions imposed on the operative area of the measure seem to show that the gubernatorial intellect has quite grasped the essence of Lord Canning's objection that "we can *only recognise* the advantage of the inheritance of landed estates by primogeniture, or, at least, the transmission of them to one heir." To do more is clearly impossible. It is not enough to say that the principles in question have been accepted by the taluqdars, because what is there they will not accept when the official oracle once makes it clear to them that acceptance is the most politic course to pursue? Sir Charles Wingfield's procedure gave rise to precisely the same experience, when, whatever may have been their own predilections in the matter, the taluqdars succumbed to his well-known and deeply-felt wishes. In this case they have not much to lose personally. Such borrowing as they have to do has already been done, and it is easy now to tell the coming generation that, if they have any wild oats to sow, the sowing had better be indefinitely postponed. All this would undoubtedly be very excellent, if, as La Roche said, we could both give the advice and the wisdom to profit by it. Unfortunately we cannot.

Be that as it may, how are all the scores of divergent interests embodied in a community of landowners, widely separated in point of descent and religion, to be consistently merged into one harmonious entity without disturbing the excellent ideal whereby the native is to be governed, not as the Englishman thinks he should be, but as he himself would have it. I can quite understand Sir Antony MacDonnell's desire to do something heroic for the unborn generations of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, but the difficulties attending the effort are so great that it becomes a question whether it would not be as well to leave the future to deal with its own phase of the contingency as it comes. At present what we have to consider is that seventy-five per cent. of the Oudh taluqdars are more or less hopelessly indebted, and that all existing mortgages must stand. Where then is the precise utility of the Oudh Settled Estates Bill as a practical measure? What would be the judgment passed on a man who consoled himself with the reflection of a far distant millennium is precisely applicable to Sir Antony MacDonnell, with this difference, that while the former may be credited with a generous desire to benefit great and small alike, the latter restricts his bounty to the

great alone. In all other parts of India remedial legislation affects every class of the landholding community, but in Oudh it is only the taluqdars who are thought of. The scores of interests outside that body, the lives and fortunes of hundreds of small landowners and village proprietors—these are of no moment beside an aristocracy over which there is now only a dim halo of vitiated wealth.

Passing on now to the North-Western Provinces Rent Act Amendment Bill, I may say that in deciding to ameliorate the condition of the provincial cultivator Sir Antony MacDonnell has been mainly influenced by judicial returns of ejectment suits, which are stated to have increased from 52,317 in 1896-97 to 69,510 in 1897-98. In their last Report on the Land Administration of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the Board of Revenue urged that the circumstance was inimical to the best interests of the country, and an intimation of the impending legislation was thereupon given by the Lieutenant-Governor in a Resolution dated 12th May 1899, declaring "that the existing state of things, whereby ejectment is used as a means to defeat the operations of the law permitting the gradual accrual of occupancy rights, is indefensible." Since then the matter has been under active consideration, and in October last it was specifically referred to in a meeting of the provincial Legislative Council as the first of a series of remedial enactments which the Government had in view.

It is necessary to state here that the proposed alteration affects only the Rent Act of the North-Western Provinces, and not that of Oudh, where the agricultural population already enjoy a sufficient measure of protection to make them independent of the vagaries of their landlords. Still the principles underlying the change are being keenly criticised in both areas, and it is not to be wondered at if their united intelligence should be somewhat exercised over it.

In this matter, as in the other, I fear the legislative impulse is equally faulty. No doubt a certain amount of fixity of tenure is necessary for the effective purposes of agricultural life, and in this sense Sir Antony MacDonnell is justified in deprecating the frequency with which ejectment suits are instituted. On the other hand, it may be urged on behalf of the landholding community that the essential object of going to court is not to dispossess the ryot, but merely to obviate the accrual to him of rights which it was never intended he should have, and which he is in no way keen to acquire so long as he is otherwise well treated and there is no attempt at rackrenting. It is only fair to state that in the majority of instances the ejected tenants are reinstated in their holdings,

but as regards the other condition, it is less easy to form a correct judgment.

How far rackrenting exists in India is a question which can never be satisfactorily answered, and while it would be safe to say that all landlords have a natural tendency to get the most they can, they may, at least, be credited with sufficient discrimination to realise that in catching at the shadow they may lose the substance. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the Indian tenant will go on paying any rent that is demanded of him—though he has never heard of Ricardo, he understands the Ricardian theory well enough to know precisely what proportion of the produce of land should go to him and what to the landlord. Among tenants-at-will, particularly in Upper India, any attempt to exact too much is almost certain to lead to land being relinquished, a contingency which no landlord would deliberately create unless he was utterly callous to his own interests. It is noteworthy in this connection that the Board of Revenue adduce no specific instances of rackrenting: it is only an assumption, which, in the absence of proof to the contrary, must be taken as a legitimate manifestation of the law of demand and supply.

So great, moreover, is the indigenous subservience to *kismet*, that, if the agricultural population were canvassed on the point, the majority would probably be in favour of accepting the inevitable, and, indeed, there has always been between landlord and tenant in India a tacit understanding, which has been on the whole well maintained, that so long as the customary rent is paid there shall be continuity of tenure. There is a curious passage in the Report referred to which states that during the famine years 1896-98 "no undue advantage was taken by the zemindars, as a body, of the distress of the tenants to destroy occupancy rights." Here, it will be observed, there is a divergence of opinion which the Board of Revenue might very well have explained. If there is no tendency on the part of the provincial landowners to act harshly when it would be easy to do so, it is not clear why, in the case of tenants-at-will, there should be such an ebullition of antagonism as is implied by the Government. Some revenue officials are inclined to ascribe the restraint to the fear that undue pressure might lead to wholesale relinquishments and consequent loss of rents. Apart from the colour this gives to my contention that in the matter of rent there are two to make a bargain, the implication is a trifle ungracious, and the provincial landowners may be excused for feeling somewhat aggrieved at what now practically amounts to an accusation of dishonesty. If Sir Antony MacDonnell, out of sympathy for the hard lot of the cultivator, is determined that he shall have the full benefit of

an official championship, by all means let us have such legislation as the contingency demands; but to blow hot and cold in the same breath, to tell the zemindar to-day that he is a model of forbearance and to-morrow that he is a knave and fool combined, is about as creditable as the legal device, when one's case is bad, of abusing the other side. Curiously enough no attempt has been made by the Government to justify its predilection, except on the broad assumption that it is good for the country, and beyond the gratuitous surmises of the Board of Revenue there is nothing to reconcile the proposed measure to our sober judgment.

As to the official argument that the law contemplates the gradual accrual of occupancy rights to tenants-at-will, it may reasonably be objected that it does nothing of the kind. The very fact that ejectment was provided for would ordinarily go to show that the accrual of occupancy rights was only contemplated as a matter of neglect on the part of landlords, whom we cannot now blame for seeking to enforce what, at any rate outwardly, has been accorded to them. If the fault lies anywhere, it is in the Act itself and with those who framed it. The relations between landlord and tenant are already so strained in India that even then it may be doubted whether Sir Antony MacDonnell is acting wisely in promoting a measure of which the immediate effect will be to make matters worse.

There is a good deal in the last Administration Report of the Board of Revenue for Bengal about the transition of agricultural life in that province from the Oriental or patriarchal stage to that of strict legal contract. While, however, the change is pronounced to be unsatisfactory, Sir John Woodburn's belief in the success of the final issue shows, at least, that in the official world of Bengal there is no unwholesome hankering after the inspiration of the East. In Upper India the conditions are precisely the same, but the effect varies in that, though all our rent legislation, including that under criticism, continues to be conceived on English principles, the outward expression of opinion is seemingly against it. No one will imagine for a moment that Sir Antony MacDonnell's advocacy emanates from other than a purely English desire to give everything, no matter what, a basis in law. There is no suggestion to preserve the patriarchal traditions which are dear to every native of India, nor any attempt to sympathise with the spirit of the past: indeed, so great is the gubernatorial repugnance to indigenous sentiment in this case that, in replying to a deputation of landowners last December, Sir Antony MacDonnell urged that it was quite impossible for him to withdraw from a position which was in keeping with the agrarian policy of the Government ever since the Mutiny.

And yet this identical policy was what he presumably condemned only three months previously in connection with the Oudh Settled Estates Bill.

In all legislation affecting the relationship between landlord and tenant in India it should be the endeavour of the Government to combine philanthropy with justice. There can be no question of the theoretical value of granting to the cultivating community rights which, we are all agreed, are essential for purposes of efficiency. At the same time it is well to differentiate between expediency and sentiment. Are we sure the proposed legislation will achieve the desired end? In answering the question, an issue arises, whether the deprivation of land is what the provincial ryot is suffering from, or his own thriftlessness, and, of course, natural afflictions such as famines and the like. If the latter, the essential purpose of the Government falls to the ground, and legislation becomes, as it were, a rope of sand which, as Emerson says, will perish in the twisting. It is well, perhaps, to recognise from the outset that the irresponsible character of the Indian tenant is as inimical to agricultural progress as any unsympathetic attitude on the part of his landlord. Those who know him best, know also how ready he is to impoverish himself by undertaking litigation on the smallest pretext. Whether the quarrel be with his landlord or a neighbour, the fight will often be protracted till the last bullock has been sold, or the village mahajan absolutely declines to advance another rupee, and by the time the final appeal has been heard he is ruined past all recovery. For such a man legislation has obviously nothing to provide.

It is a common experience, too, in Upper India to find an agriculturist who has got together a little money making a series of expensive pilgrimages to Pragraj or Mathuraji. Then there is the inevitable *shukrana* to the thanadar for the expiation of real or imaginary offences, and occasional entertainments to one's caste fellows, all which put together would ruin most men I fancy.

A critical examination of the Bill creates the fear that the proposed remedy may fall short of a completely effective purpose by its failure to recognise the true causes of agricultural backwardness. As has been said before in connection with the Oudh Settled Estates Bill, the essence of the evil lies less in the frequency of ejectments than in the condition of apathy in which the agriculturist is plunged. If persuasion to improve the old methods of cultivation, to provide against a rainy day from the proceeds of bumper harvests, to limit expenditure on marriages and other social ceremonies, and, above all, to avoid litigation, are unheeded, it

is inconceivable that the mere fact of being provided with a five or seven-year tenure will avail in a contingency which entails an unrestricted recognition of the principles of self-help. That the condition is often wholly neglected, or only partly realized, is clear from the last Stamp Report of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, which testifies, from the abnormal sale of document stamps, to the growing distress of the Oudh tenantry, notwithstanding the provision for fixity of tenure existing there: and the fact that no satisfactory explanation of the circumstance is afforded may not unreasonably be applied by the opponents of the measure to enquire what need there is for bringing the Rent Act of the North-Western Provinces into line with what has admittedly failed to ensure prosperity. That all landlords are not inimical to the principles of the Bill is apparent from the statement of one who writes that long before the measure was made public he had given every tenant-at-will on his estate five-year leases in the hopes of thereby improving their material condition. "My experience," he says, "is not at all assuring. Lease or no lease, the moment a tenant finds he owes a couple of years' rent, he is off somewhere else. The good tenants stay, but they do not care for leases, knowing very well that it is not to the advantage of the landlord to quarrel with them." There is no reason to believe that this experience is limited, and certainly it is worth consideration.

The main point to be remembered in matters of this sort, where the welfare of an agricultural community is concerned, is the good old maxim that Heaven helps those who help themselves. So far, there is reason to fear, we have allowed too much of our attention to be engrossed by the rhetorical aspects of rent and revenue problems, quite forgetful that the tendency to make the least of one's resources, to over-populate, to rush into litigation oftener than is necessary, to spend fifty rupees on a *tamasha* which would be dear at ten, to play into the hands of the police, to convert the proceeds of bumper crops into ornaments which seldom fetch what they cost—are only a few of the factors to which agricultural demoralization in this country is due.

Probably, if the matter were carefully gone into, it would be found that a large number of ejectment suits are instituted for the real purpose of repressing the spirit of defiance which the provincial ryot has a knack of generating the moment he is well settled. There is much in the theory which accounts for the opposition offered to the Bill, and though it is obviously impossible to decide on the merits of a quarrel between master and man, it is only fair, while condemning oppression and rackrenting, to recognise that a tenant who makes a

persona ingrata of himself on every possible occasion, or who cannot bear to have his rent demanded when it becomes due, is not precisely an individual entitled to legislative protection.

I should be the last to suggest that our agricultural population should be deprived of the benefits which they now enjoy; but I am not exaggerating when I say that one effect of our rent legislation has been to engender in the minds of the landholding classes a distrust of official motives. The difficulties attending the realization of rent and of managing a large body of tenants, all of whom cannot be good, are so great, that I firmly believe most landlords would gladly surrender their positions were it not for the social advantages, which the possession of land affords. There is no reason to think that they are necessarily happy, or their troubles less deserving of official recognition than those of their tenantry. And yet, while the Government affords to the one the right to stick to his lands, what relief does it afford to the other who finds one fine morning that a tenant has run away with all his belongings and a couple of years' rent in the bargain? The relief of finding remedy in a court against a man whose whereabouts may be anywhere within a radius of fifty miles, is assuredly not very gratifying, but it is the landlord's only consolation. If he wants to eject a tenant, it must be through the court: if he wants to re-let his land, he must first obtain the written resignation of the present holder. The present holder, owing, perhaps, a year's rent, with the intention of owing another, refuses to execute the resignation, and so the whole machinery of the law has to be put into operation. After this is it at all surprising if the justice of the Government comes to be questioned?

One word more by way of postscript. Since the above paragraphs were written and sent to press more than three months ago, the Oudh Settled Estates Bill has been passed into law. I ought, perhaps, to alter parts of them to embody the improvements made by the Select Committee in the original draft of the measure, but I fear this is now impossible, and in any case the alterations would not materially affect my general contentions. I am glad, however, that an endeavour has been made to meet the objection in regard to mortgage and interest, though whether it will obviate usury. I am just as doubtful as before. The Rent Bill still awaits the sanction of the Government of India before it can be introduced here. In the meantime it may be worth while to draw attention to a circumstance on which much reliance was placed last year, namely, the increase in the number of ejectment suits filed against tenants-at-will. Had the official deductions been quite sound the feature should have been equally apparent this year,

but ejectment suits, on the contrary, have decreased so considerably of late that the Board of Revenue, in its annoyance at having the ground thus cut away from under its feet, is constrained to explain that the result was purposely brought about by the landowners of the province. To sum up. If the criterion of efficient administration is avoidance of unnecessary tinkering with existing conditions, there is every reason to fear that all this legislation will end in failure. The essential desire of the native of India is not for the complicated niceties of civilized administration, but for the realization of a full stomach: that secured, it matters very little to him what other forms the executive interest in his welfare assumes. There is a pathos about the blind dependence of the Indian people upon Providence which no one could justly accuse Sir Antony MacDonnell of ignoring, but that he should be concentrating his efforts to save in directions which are not immediately necessary shows how far he is from recognising the value of Emerson's teaching. What we want at the present moment is not grandiose legislation which will perish in the twisting, but measures which will bring prosperity to the country and increase its capacity to bear trouble. What we have is an inchoate longing to save the landowner from the mahajan and the royt from the landowner. Thus, to quote Plautus—

Certa amittimus dum incerta petimus.

EROPMAR.

ART. VII.—RELIGIOUS AND CHARITABLE ENDOWMENTS OF BENGAL ZEMINDARS.

I.

PERHAPS in no other country in the world is the religious enthusiasm of a people so great and all-absorbing as it is in India. The holy books of the Hindus inculcate charity especially as the surest means of salvation. The Brahmins favoured charitable gifts and extolled them beyond measure, and the legislature fostered them by every means in its power. It is therefore not a matter of surprise that we have in India an amount of charity, both religious and temporal, which is hardly approached in any other country.

I shall deal in this article and in another with the works of public charity and charitable endowments of the landholders of the province of Bengal. If India is rich in charities, Bengal is the province in it which possesses the largest number and amount of such charities.

It has become the fashion now-a-days to describe the landlord class as a body too much 'concentred in self' and entirely forgetful of the welfare of the people at large. Yet, it is a fact as clear as daylight, that, if any good has been done by any class in this country for the benefit of the public, it has been by the zemindar community. I shall show that the landlords of this country have spent in works of public charity and utility a far larger amount than has been spent elsewhere, and, in many instances, far beyond their circumstances. Yet the comparative poverty of the landholding classes of this country is too apparent to admit of serious contradiction. Let me compare some men of colossal fortune in England and in Bengal and see how their incomes stand to one another :—

	Name.	Capital.	Income.
		£	£
England.	Duke of Westminster ...	16,000,000	800,000
	Duke of Sutherland ...	6,000,000	300,000
	Duke of Northumberland ...	5,000,000	250,000
	Marquis of Bute ...	4,000,000	200,000
Bengal.	Maharajah of Durbhangah ...	3,000,000	150,000
	Maharajah of Cooch Behar ...	2,600,000	130,000
	Maharajah of Hutwa ...	1,800,000	90,000
	Maharajah of Burdwan ...	1,800,000	90,000
	Maharajah of Dumraon ...	1,000,000	50,000
	Late Maharani Surnomoyee ...	800,000	40,000

Thus the highest income of our Bengal landholders falls far short of the lowest of the millionaires of Great Britain. The richest landlord of Bengal is the Maharajah of Durbhangah.

It was during the administration of Sir Stuart Bayley that the estate was taken from the control and supervision of the Court of Wards. While congratulating his late ward—alas, no longer living—who had just come of age, the late Governor declared that the annual income of the Durbhangah Raj estate was then about seventeen lakhs of rupees. Yet, it is a fact that, after the incomes of the Maharajahs of Durbhangah and Cooch Behar, there is, excepting the Maharajah of Burdwan, the Hutwa Raja and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, hardly a landlord who owns half their income. The Burdwan Raj is, indeed, the richest landholder in this side of Bengal.

Before detailing the charitable works of individual zemindars, I will give a brief summary of the law of endowments prevailing in this country. The English law which forbids superstitious bequests has no application in India, and hence the practice of devising by will vast amounts of property for religious purposes has become common since the establishment of the Supreme Court of Calcutta. The question whether a Hindu can apply the whole of his property to religious objects is now settled, and there have been several instances in which such an extreme course has been held valid. The creation of perpetuities is fully allowable in such cases, and does not render the will invalid. Among Mohomedans only a third of the property can be so devised, unless the testator has no heir or near relatives. Such religious endowments, however, must not be colourable, but *bonâ fide*, and the income of the endowed property should be devoted entirely to the purpose of defraying the religious ceremonies and worship connected with the endowments. But where a will under the guise of a religious character really bestows the beneficial interest on the devisees, it will be void so far as perpetuities are concerned, and the property will be governed by the ordinary Hindu law, subject merely to a trust for the fulfilment of religious purposes. If, again, a property yielding a large profit is devised by will for religious endowment, but the nature of the worship and ceremonies connected therewith is such that only a small portion of the profits can be and is actually utilized for the purpose, then the devise with regard to the remainder of the profits to religious objects will be void, and the heirs-at-law at liberty to divide them at their pleasure. Where a property is absolutely dedicated in perpetuity to religious purposes, the trustee cannot encumber or dispose of it for his personal use ; but he can do so for the benefit and preservation of the estate. Sometimes land or other property is held for the maintenance of a religious endowment, subject merely to a trust as to part of the income. Here the land passes under the ordinary law with the specific charge upon it.

What is said here of religious, will equally hold good with reference to charitable, endowments. No charitable bequest will fail on account of vagueness or uncertainty, as the Court has power to direct the trustee in that case to apply the bequest to any act of general charity of the nature contemplated by the will according to the well-known *Cypres* doctrine.

It will be impossible to enter into minute details of the various works of public charity and liberality which distinguish noble families like the Durbhangah or Cooch Behar Raj. I shall make references to them in general in their proper place, giving details as far as possible. In the meanwhile I shall say something in the beginning about the works of public charity and endowment maintained by the poorer class of the Zemindars of Bengal :—men who by dint of their own self-exertion and economy built up their own fortunes, and, investing their money in landed property, had but a single aim in their lives, that of doing good to humanity.

To begin with Bengal proper. I select first the district of Hooghly—a district which perhaps contains more educated and influential landholders than any other in this province.

In this district three zemindars absolutely bequeathed their estates for the benefit of the public. The name of the first is Mahomed Moshin,—a name which is hallowed and enshrined in the hearts of the people. That palatial building, the Hooghly Imambara, with its magnificent tower-clock and glittering minarets, visible over many a mile of land and water, owes its existence to the munificence and charity of this large-hearted Mussulman gentleman, who settled in the district and died in 1812. By a deed, dated the 9th June 1806, he founded that sacred trust which has shed such a lustre over the whole province. The Imambara, and its river revetment, which now form such a prominent object in the topography of Hooghly and its river scenery, cost no less than two lakhs of rupees. The tower-clock was procured from England, at a cost of Rs. 11,721, and I have heard my Mahomedan friends say that, excepting the clock of Saint Paul's Cathedral in London, it has no compeer in the world. That great educational institution—alas ! now in its days of decline and decadence—the Hooghly College, charmingly situated on the river, with its quiet halls of learning, its splendid library and beautiful botanical gardens, also derives its birth from his liberality and catholicity of mind. Into the Valhalla of history have passed the names of the old professors of this renowned College :—Dr. Thomas Wise, the first Civil Surgeon of Hooghly, Captain D. L. Richardson, the great Shakespeare reader and antiquarian, and Mr. Lobb, the veteran educationist and learned follower of Comte. It has produced some of the greatest men of the day, most notable

of whom are the late Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter, than whom few abler Judges ever graced the High Court Bench, and Mr. Justice Amir Ali, the brilliant writer of Mahomedan history. The Hooghly Imambara hospital has been rendered famous by the wonderful surgical operations of Dr. Esdaile, who used to practise mesmerism in those days to produce insensibility on patients before performing such operations. The zeal, energy, self-reliance and perseverance manifested by Dr. Esdaile in the cause of mesmerism, as an instrument for relieving human suffering, extorted the admiration of the *then* Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, who rewarded him with the post of Presidency Surgeon and honoured him by entertaining him at a dinner at Government House.

To that hospital was appointed the first Assistant Surgeon, Dr. Budden Chunder Chowdhury, for the purpose of rendering help to Dr. Esdaile, who is still alive, and who is the sole survivor of those ten distinguished students of human anatomy whose names are emblazoned in golden letters on a shield in the Calcutta Medical College Theatre in honour of their proficiency in surgery. That great adept in the healing art Dr. R. L. Dutta was for a considerable time the Civil Surgeon of this hospital. The *Motowali* of the Imambarah, who seems to have done the greatest amount of good and useful work was Syed Keramut Ali, of Jaunpore, the faithful friend and companion of Lieutenant Conolly's travels in Kabul. He was a great Arabic scholar and mathematician, and his attempt to trisect an angle is said to have been the most successful yet made. The present Imambarah was built during his direct supervision in 1861, and during his term of office the religious celebrations and festivals were conducted with such pomp and show as had not been witnessed before.

If there is anything worth seeing at Hooghly it is the Mohurram. Although much of its pristine magnificence are gone, still there is enough left to strike a stranger with awe and respect. It is said that even in these degenerate days a sum of Rs. 1,000 is spent daily during the eleven days of the Mohurram. Time was when Arabs and African Negroes used to come from their distant homes to witness the Mohurram. Hardly has the new moon been seen when the Imambarah becomes a perfect Tower of Babel: the discordant music of the *tom-tom* and the cries of 'Allah' and 'Hossein' rend the air. Through the portals of the Imambarah a surging mass of humanity pass like ocean-waves. If anyone wishes to have a lasting impression of the Hooghly Mohurram, which he will never forget clear, let him come on the ninth and tenth day at night. The whole building is beautifully illuminated on both these days. In the courtyard a bubbling fountain of water falls

harmoniously and incessantly into a splendid cistern, at which one finds pious Moslems washing their hands and faces previous to entering for prayer. A flight of steps leads to a magnificent hall paved with the richest and purest marble and beautiful in its proportions and decorations. It really looks like a fairy dream when the marble hall becomes resplendent with the rainbow hues of colored glass lanterns and beautiful chandeliers fed with the purest oil and hanging by chains from the roof, which rises from six gothic columns on each side, carved with the rarest skill and painted with passages from the Koran, looking as bright in their fresh colouring as if they had been painted yesterday. The followers of the Prophet assemble here, listening sorrowfully to the recitals of the preacher as he relates the sad and tragic end of their departed heroes. A small audience of moon-faced beauties of the faithful is collected on the upper story behind a very rich curtain of Persian silk and one may see their dark blue eyes stealing through the folds of the gauze like a moon-beam through the fleecy cloud of a summer night. Towards the conclusion a general cry of sobs and lamentations rise and burst through the whole throng. I believe I never saw a finer action of tragic woe than these loud groans of the faithful. The torchlight procession on the tenth day is perhaps the most brilliant and enchanting sight of all. Candles are lighted up in amber glasses, numbering thousands and hundreds of thousands, which stretch for nearly half a mile on both sides of the road, and the procession moves literally in a blaze of triumph, the snow-white *tazia*, a veritable emblem of the miniature Taj at Agra with the silver crescent on its dome, shining in the midst.

The management of the Imambarah is in the hands of a trustee, under whom a *Motowali* is employed and paid a salary of Rs. 500 monthly. The ultimate control rests, of course, with the Government. By strict economy and good management the Moshin Trust Funds have rapidly increased, until they stand at the present day at a capitalised value of about twenty lakhs of rupees, and the income is about a lakh. The income from landed property amounts to Rs. 60,000 a year, of which the estate of Syudpore in Jessore alone contributes Rs. 45,000. Besides this, there is a fixed money endowment of Rs. 10,57,000, and a variable one of Rs. 90,400 in the hands of the Government to the credit of the Moshin Fund. The Imambarah has a *Hakimi* dispensary and a *Mosafirkhana*, in which Mussulman travellers lodge and board. A sum of Rs. 50,000 is yearly spent for the performance of the religious ceremonies and in feeding and maintaining the poor. The remaining fifty thousand rupees, which used formerly to be spent on the up-keep of the Hooghly College

is now distributed, much to the chagrin of the people of the Hooghly district, amongst the poorer classes of Mussulmans all over the province for their education. The Moshin fund entirely supports in addition to these the Doulatpore Entrance School and charitable dispensary at Sayudpore at a cost of about Rs. 200 monthly. The present *Motowali*, Syed Ashraf-uddin Ahmed, is the son of the late Nawab Amir Ali, and is discharging his duties efficiently.

The name of Behari Lall Mookherjee, of Boinchee, comes next in point of liberality and public spirit. Before his death he gave away by a will, which became the subject of contentious litigation in the High Court, a sum of one lakh and sixty-one thousand rupees for the establishment of a charitable dispensary and hospital in the village of Boinchee, as well as a free school teaching up to the Entrance Examination standard for the benefit of the local public. It gives the reversionary interest in all the landed properties of the testator to Government after the death of his widow, the proceeds of which are to be applied to similar acts of public usefulness. A sum of Rs. 2,500 is spent annually for the maintenance of the hospital and an equal amount for the school, both of which are doing yeomen's service to the cause of suffering humanity and the education of the poorer classes of the native community. The income from landed estates amounts to about Rs. 12,000 yearly, and it is hoped, that, in addition to the existing good works of permanent benefit to the public, others of a splendid nature will be created by Government as soon as it succeeds to its reversionary right. It is estimated that the entire estate of the late Bihari Lall Mookerjee yields a profit of Rs. 20,000 yearly, all of which goes into the hands of Government on the death of his widow. There is an able and experienced Assistant Surgeon, drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 100, as well as a compounder attached to the hospital; and the school is under a graduate of the Calcutta University on a monthly salary of Rs. 100. The construction of the hospital and school buildings has cost close upon thirty thousand rupees and has been carried out under the supervision of the Collector of the district. Both are nice and commodious buildings. The hospital has ten beds for in-door patients. Its popularity is so great that a larger accommodation and expenditure on the head of medicines have become absolutely necessary. Bihari Lall's brother, Babu Ram Lall Mookerjee, has made a handsome donation of Rs. 50,000 to Government for the abundant supply of good water to the people of the district during times of water scarcity.

The third zemindar of the Hooghly district, who has absolutely dedicated his properties to the public, is Nundo Lall Barman.

He was a resident of the town of Hooghly, and, dying without heirs, left his entire estate, valued at three lakhs of rupees, by a will for a religious endowment at Bally. During the festivals which take place yearly large numbers of Brahmins are fed and money and food distributed to the poor. In addition to this yearly outlay, the daily expenditure in the guest-house (*sadabroto*) is very large, as all comers, without distinction of caste, creed or colour, are sumptuously fed and housed there. The income of the estate endowed comes up to about ten thousand rupees yearly. The widow has lately constructed a beautiful bathing ghât, flanked by two temples, on the river side in Hooghly-Bally. The cost incurred in its construction is a little over Rs. 15,000. It has removed a long-felt want in the locality and done much good to the public.

Amongst the names of the landholders of this district, the late Joykissen Mookerjee stands foremost, not only in point of intelligence, ability and wealth, but also in public spirit and liberality. His father, Juggo Mohun Mookerjee, devoted properties worth about three lakhs of rupees towards a family religious endowment, the main object of which is the performance of religious ceremonies and feeding and giving alms to the poor. Joykissen spent no less than six lakhs of rupees in purely charitable works. A Hindu zemindar of the old school, he naturally expended vast sums of money in the digging of tanks and reservoirs and in the construction of embankments and roads. That splendid Library at Utterpara, which one admires from the river as a specimen of architectural beauty, cost him about sixty thousand rupees for its construction, and an equal amount was spent for the collection of books. The property which he endowed for its maintenance yields Rs. 2,100 yearly. It was he who, conjointly with his brother Rajkrishna, endowed the Utterpara School, which has been since raised through his exertions and munificence to the status of a second class college, with two taluks—Boinchee and Ramnagor—of the net value of Rs. 1,200 per annum. He also gave a sum of Rs. 19,000 into the hands of Government for the purpose of creating a trust fund for the Utterpara School scholarship. The same brothers subsequently made a similar endowment, yielding Rs. 1,800 per annum, for the foundation and support of the Utterpara Hospital, which has turned out so beneficial to the local public. In addition to these, he subscribed about a lakh and half towards the expenses of public societies and associations, which had mainly for their object the relief of the poor, and about a lakh of rupees for municipal purposes and for the construction of municipal roads and bridges.

The Calcutta University Library was founded by Jay Kissen Mookerjee in 1869 and endowed with a donation of

Rs. 5,000. It was through his help and encouragement that the "History of a Bengal Peasant Life" was written by the late Rev. Lall Vihari Day—the best book we have about the daily life of a Bengal ryot. A worthy son of a worthy father, Raja Peary Mohun Mookerjee, has followed closely in the footsteps of his noble father and has largely subscribed to many important public needs.

Of the old zemindars of the Hooghly district, Chaku Ram Singh of Bhastara deserves special mention. The town of Hooghly owes much to him for its prosperity. He gave Rs. 500 for the repair of the Hooghly town roads, Rs. 1,000 for the Satgaon, and Rs. 5,000 for the Bally suspension bridges, built the *Chandni* of Smyth's Ghât at a cost of Rs. 3,000, and subscribed largely towards the building of the Hooghly Branch School. But this is nothing in comparison with the vast sum of money he spent in building temples and endowing them with valuable lands. Several of them stand to this day on the banks of the holy river at Tribeni, where he entirely rebuilt that splendid masonry ghât which is frequented by thousands of pilgrims from distant parts of the province for the purpose of bathing in the sacred junction of three streams. He constructed several temples in Chandernagore and at his native village of Bhastara, which are still maintained by his son Babu Joggeshwar Singh, the eldest representative of the family at the present day, at a cost of about four thousand rupees yearly. During the great famine of 1866 the latter took a most prominent part in relieving the distressed. He opened almshouses throughout his extensive possessions and fed the poor with a princely liberality. For his great public spirit and generosity, Chaku Singh was recommended by the District Officers of the time to be "decorated" with the title of a Raja, but he died prematurely soon after and the wishes of the Government could not be carried out. He also spent a large amount of money in the construction of roads and tanks. The road from Magra to Bhastara was constructed by him, and is up to this time the only road through which the extensive grain trade of Magra is carried on by means of bullock carts. His son, Babu Joggeshwar Singh, maintains a school at Bhastara, and has been, in spite of the waning fortunes of the family, always prominent in acts of charity. The late Shyama Sundari Dasi, aunt of Joggeshwar Singh, has bequeathed by will properties yielding a yearly income of Rs. 700 for the maintenance of poor and helpless widows of Bhastara. His son Prava Chandra Singh has contributed a sum of Rs. 2,000 towards the Lady Dufferin Fund in commemoration of his late mother's memory.

The Seal family of Calcutta holds a high place amongst the zemindars of the Hooghly district. The founder of it was

Mutty Lall Seal, who rose from a mere hawker of empty bottles to one of the richest men of the province, acquiring vast zemindaris and Calcutta house properties in the course of a very few years. The Calcutta Medical College Hospital owes much to his bounty and munificence. A considerable portion of the lands on which the magnificent edifice stands belonged to Mutty Lall Seal, who made a free gift of them to Government, moved by that public spirit which always marked that great man's career in life. It has been estimated that the value of the land then given away would come to Rs. 40,000. The Government of Bengal recognised his liberality by naming a ward in his honor, 'The Mutty Lall Seal Ward,' for native male patients. He subsequently supplemented this gift by a handsome donation of more than half a lakh of rupees to the Calcutta Medical College Hospital. But the charities which have endeared his name to the public at large and made him illustrious were created by him later on and are contained in a deed of trust by which he made over a considerable portion of his property amounting to several lakhs of rupees for the good of the public. A net yearly income of Rs. 36,000 is derived from those properties. Out of this a sum of Rs. 12,000 yearly is spent in the upkeep of the Seal's Free College that fine two-storeyed building in Collootollah, which had come into existence long before the late Venerable Pundit Iswar Chundra Vidya-sagor sowed the seeds of cheap education in this country, and has been since doing all along incalculable service to the cause of advancement of learning amongst the poorer members of the native community. The College stands high in the estimation of the public and competes successfully with Government and Missionary Colleges in the University examinations. Apart from this College, the trust fund distributes a sum of nearly Rs. 4,000 to a number of poor widows and orphans of Calcutta regularly every year. The scale of payment to each individual varies from Rs. 3 to 2 monthly. The rest of the income of the trust fund is spent in the maintenance of two *atithsalas*, or guest-houses, one at Baranagore and the other at Khidderpore, where all comers are sumptuously fed and entertained during all hours of the day. The Mutty Lall Seal splendid bathing ghât at Ramkristopore is a further example of his liberality. Well have some of his descendants followed his noble example in this respect. The Chuni Lall Seal out-door dispensary due south of the Medical College Hospital, is supported by an endowment of Rs. 60,000, which has been placed in the hands of Government. Kanye Lall Seal has made over a sum of Rs. 60,000 for the construction of a Charitable Hospital at Howrah. The Elliott Bridge across Bharpara khal, near the Civil Engineering College of

Shibpore, was constructed at a cost of Rs. 30,000, given by Gopal Lall Seal, and has proved a veritable boon to the local public. In addition to these benefactions the Seal family has always come forward with liberal donations during times of distress.

The richest zemindar of the Serampore sub-division was the late Rajah Harrish Chandra, whose descendant, Rajah Poorno Chandra Roy, is still alive. He was the greatest benefactor to the establishment of Jagarnath at Mahesh, where people resort in so large numbers during the great Car festival, and created those valuable endowments for the support of its worship, which have rendered the name of Mahesh so renowned in this province. The Bathing festival is attended by a large concourse of pilgrims, the gay folk coming in green boats and budgerows from Calcutta and its neighbourhood and amusing themselves with boat-racing, singing and dancing. The temple of Nistarini, which is visible from the Sheoraphuly Railway Station, owes its most productive endowments to this zemindar family. The Baidyabati market, famous in Bengal as the emporium of all vegetable produce, was originally made over for the endowment of this temple. The income of this endowed property was over Rs. 12,000 yearly, but it has now been considerably diminished by litigation, as some portions of the property have been held by the Privy Council to have not been endowed for religious purposes and have hence changed hands very recently. To succour the distressed was the special delight of Harrish Chandra, and the temples he consecrated were the refuge of hundreds of poverty-stricken human beings who were freely maintained at the expense of the endowment. But alas! the wheel of fortune of this noble family has turned and much of its splendour and good work have vanished!

Among the female landholders of this district the name of the late Rani Rash Moni must always stand pre-eminent on account of her charity and religious works. The long line of temples at Dakhineswar on the banks of the river, with the beautiful ghât in the middle, the fine flights of steps leading down to the water's edge, still stands as a monument of her piety and devotion. Once a year this place becomes alive with the hum of thousands of pilgrims, the laughter of the merry and motley crowd, and the sombre and solemn recitals of religious poems and songs by red clothed priests. This is on the day of the anniversary of that holy monk Rajkrishna Param-hansa, who lived long amidst these sacred temples and drew scores of disciples from far and near, propagating the holy gospel of eternal truth to all. Some valuable properties have been endowed for the support of these temples, yielding an

income of about Rs. 30,000 yearly. Nor are the cravings of the poor left unsatiated. Numbers are fed daily there, and cloths and money are distributed freely amongst them during all occasions of festival. There is a temple close to Government House, Barrackpore, for which landed property with an income of ten thousand rupees yearly was endowed by that distinguished lady Rash Moni. The bathing ghât in Hooghly, Babugunj, is another memorial of her charitable disposition. Her husband Raj Chander Mar was also remarkable for public spirit. He did much good to the Hindu citizens of Calcutta by constructing a house for the moribund in Nimtola. Those splendid bathing ghâts which go by the names of Babu Ghât and Hatkhola Ghât owe their existence to his munificence and liberality and have proved very useful to the people of the metropolis.

The celebrated shrine of Tarkeshwar was originally created by one of the Rajas of Burdwan. It is superfluous to say that there is hardly any temple in Lower Bengal which is held in greater esteem and veneration by the people. An every-day sight but not the less touching, is the vast number of persons that congregate in front of the temple and, without taking a morsel of food or a drop of water, throw themselves completely on the mercy of the gods for the fruition of some desired object—either to be recovered of some incurable disease or for the fulfilment of some vow. The number of Mahommedans that go over there for this purpose is not small. The Mohunt is virtually the master of all the endowed properties. In addition to the daily feeding of the poor, the Mohunt maintains an English school and a Sanscrit *tol* in which boys are taught free of charge. The late Madhub Chunder Giri, who was himself a learned Sanscrit scholar, founded several scholarships for the education of Hindu boys in the Sanscrit College of Calcutta. He also endowed a Vedic Professorship in the Sanscrit College, and for this purpose handed over to Government a sum of Rs. 12,000 in Government Securities. There is a guest-house (*atithsala*) attached to the Tarkeshwar temple in which fifty Brahmins are maintained daily. There is also an almhouse where the needy and the poor are supplied with food. In the digging of tanks and reservoirs, and in the construction of roads and other works of public utility the Mohunt has always freely spent money. The late Mohunt Madhub Chandra Giri subscribed Rs. 1,000 towards the construction of the Hooghly Victoria Town Hall and an equal amount towards the Lady Dufferin Hospital. The days of festivity, however, which bring the largest number of pilgrims to Tarkeshwar, are the Shivoratri and the Chait Sakranti. The concourse of people assembled comes to hundreds of thousands on these occa-

sions, and the income derived from spontaneous offerings to the god of the temple is estimated authentically at the large figure of about a lakh of rupees yearly. During the famines of 1866 and 1874, the Mohunt did eminent public service by subscribing handsome donations to the famine fund, as well as by opening famine relief at Tarkeshwar and elsewhere.

It is a significant fact that even middle-class zemindars have left legacies to the poor. The Dashghora Biswas family, although not very wealthy, have maintained an English school, and their religious endowments and alms-house have done much benefit to the local public. The Haripal as well as the Makhalpore Roys have similar endowments and charities and a minor school.

The late Saroda Churan Roy of Chuckdighi made over a large amount of property for the public good by his will. Amongst his works of charity the most important is a charitable dispensary and hospital at Chuckdighi for which an endowment of Rs. 3,000 yearly has been made. It is under the able supervision of an Assistant Surgeon who is paid Rs. 100 monthly. In addition to the free distribution of medicines to the public, there are ten beds for in-door patients. A large sum of money was spent in the construction of the hospital building, which is spacious and nicely situated on the side of a public road, and its utility in a part of the district far away from the headquarters, where it was formerly impossible to get any sort of medical aid, has been remarkably proved by the large numbers of patients who have recourse to it morning and evening, every day. There is also maintained an English Entrance School called the Saroda Prosad Institution, having an endowment of equal value with that of the charitable dispensary and doing equally good service to the poor boys of the village of Chuckdighi. An *atithshala*, or guest-house, is supported, according to the directions in the will, out of the proceeds of the endowed estate, where fifty Brahmins and strangers are daily fed. In addition, the family idol has to be kept up with all the religious and ceremonial observances necessary for the purpose. This will was sought to be set aside by Chuckun Lall Roy, but after long and costly litigation the Privy Council held it to be good, reversing the judgment of the Calcutta High Court, which had declared Lolit Mohun's right, to be only a life-estate and held the reversionary right in favour of Chuckun Lall.

The Masya family of Bansberia has long been well known for its religious endowments and charity. Its wealth and importance have, I regret to say, much dwindled down of late, but still enough remains to indicate the sort of things it had done in good old days. The famous temple of the

goddess Hanseswari, with its dozen golden pinnacles and images of Siva, still attests the religious enthusiasm and devotion of this ancient zemindar family. There are other temples along with it. These are all said to have been built by Rani Sankari Dassi, a pious lady of great renown. The remains of a fortress and entrenchment are still visible round the place, where peaceful burghers used to seek protection from the ravages of the Mahrattas. The income of the estate originally set apart for this endowment was about a lakh of rupees. After protracted litigation in the High Court, a considerable portion of the endowment was held invalid. The family has all along been famous for liberality and public spirit. It maintains a public library and an English school at Bansberia and still performs the religious ceremonies with *éclat*.

The late Sagore Dutta of Chinsurah, brother of the well-known Madhob Dutta, has left a princely fortune for charity. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that he gave up nearly the whole of his wealth, consisting of Calcutta house property and zemindaries, and valued at no less a sum than six lakhs of rupees, for the benefit of the public. The grand charitable dispensary and hospital at Kamarhati near Belghoria, with its separate female ward, surrounded by a large and airy compound and constructed in the best style at an immense cost, stands as a monument of his liberal heart. This endowment is now in the hands of the Administrator-General of Bengal. The hospital has fifty beds for in-door patients and is under the charge of a first class Assistant Surgeon, drawing a pay of Rs. 200 monthly. A lady doctor with a monthly pay of Rs. 50 is placed over the female ward. The Civil Surgeon of Alipore supervises the whole establishment and inspects it monthly, for which he is paid handsomely. It would be difficult to exaggerate the boon conferred on a very large number of the public of the district by the establishment of this charitable institution, the like of which very few districts in Bengal can boast of. It is immensely popular with all classes of people, and I am credibly informed that even people from Serampore, Barrackpore and Naihati go there to avail themselves of medical help.

It would be invidious if I did not include here the excellent charities of the late Bhudeb Mookherjee, who served the Education Department with so great honour and credit. Born of very poor parents, Bhudeb Chandra rose in life by dint of sheer industry and ability, and it was no small self-sacrifice for a man of his position, burdened with family and children, to dedicate almost the entire savings of a long and laborious life to the benefit of the public. A lover of Sanscrit literature and himself no mean scholar, he executed a year

before his death a deed of trust by which he endowed the sum of one lakh and fifty thousand rupees mainly for the encouragement of Sanscrit literature, distributing the annual income of this fund in the shape of yearly stipends among the indigenous *tols* of Bengal. In addition to this, there are maintained, out of the funds of the endowment, a Homœopathic and an Ayurvedic charitable dispensary as well as a free Sanscrit school (*chatuspathi*) at his house. The late Rup Lall Sen, of Chinsurah, has left a sum of one lakh of rupees in Government Securities partly for the maintenance of the poor and partly for the purpose of defraying the expenses of his family idol. Babu Lall Bihari Dutta, nephew of the late famous Jebun Pal, has opened an alms-house (*Annachattra*) at which any number of people are given food gratis and which is doing signal service in Chinsurah to the poorest members of the native community. This charity costs Lall Bihari Babu from rupees three to four hundred monthly. These three gentlemen are not zemindars in the literal sense of the word, but they have lands in Calcutta and the Mofussil for which Government revenue is payable and hence their names have been mentioned in this article.

The Tagore family of Calcutta, owning valuable landed properties throughout the province, is well known for public charity and munificence. Among its present distinguished members, Maharajah Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore occupies a prominent place in native society. His ancestor, Prosonno Coomar Tagore, conferred a lasting boon on the public by his princely bequest of no less a sum than seven lakhs of rupees for religious, charitable and educational purposes. For the endowment of the 'Tagore Law Professorship' he bequeathed the splendid sum of three lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University—an endowment which has produced such brilliant results in the arena of legal lore, adding to our knowledge of law year by year and materially assisting the Bench and the Bar alike in their arduous duties. The present emoluments of the Professor who fills the chair of the Tagore Law Endowment amount to Rs. 9,000 per annum. The following terms of the bequest are given from the will:—"My will is that the 'Tagore Law Professor' shall read or deliver at some place within the town of Calcutta one complete course of Law Lectures without charge to the students or other persons who may attend such lectures. Within six months after the delivery of each course of lectures, the lectures shall be printed, and not less than 500 copies thereof shall be distributed gratuitously. I desire that the expense of such printing and distribution may be defrayed out of the residue of the annual interest of the said fund. Whatever portion of the

residue may remain after defraying the expenses, I desire that it may be devoted to the printing and publication of approved works on Law or Jurisprudence. It is my will that the said 'Tagore Law Professorship' shall, save as herein provided, be, as to the kind of law which is to be taught, and in all other matters and things, regulated by, and subject to, the control of the Senate of the said University." Thirty years have elapsed since the establishment of the endowment and twenty-seven Tagore Law professors have delivered their lectures, among whom may be cited the names of many eminent scholars and jurists. The names of Herbert Cowell, who thrice filled the exalted chair, and Sir Frederick Pollock are known to all students of law. Three of them have become Hon'ble Judges of High Courts of Justice. The Tagore Law Lectures series is now a household word in every lawyer's library. Few treatises on law can match with Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose's Law on Mortgage or Babu Upendra Nath Mitra's Law of Limitation? It is perhaps not known to many that Prosonno Coomar Tagore was himself one of the most learned and voluminous writers of the day, chiefly on questions of law and jurisprudence.

His love of the Sanscrit language and literature was great. In those days Mulajore was famous as the Cambridge of Bengal. It has been immortalized by the muse of Bharat Chandra—the eminent poet—, who lived at Mulajore latterly and took an active part in the teaching of Sanscrit to the pupils of the local school. It was Prosonno Coomar Tagore who by a liberal donation of Rs. 35,000 gave this ancient and renowned Sanscrit school a local habitation and abode. The Mulajore temples bear an eloquent testimony to his religious devotion and for their support he set apart some very valuable properties. To the cause of the sick and suffering humanity he was equally alive. He bequeathed a sum of one lakh of rupees towards the establishment of the Mulajore Charitable Dispensary—an institution which has proved a veritable haven to the inhabitants of Mulajore. That was the time when the scourge of malarious fever first made its appearance in this part of Lower Bengal. To all his dependants and servants who served him faithfully during his life Prosonno Coomar left a splendid legacy of two lakhs and fifteen thousand rupees as a token of his unfailing love and sympathy for them. To the District Charitable Society and to the Native Hospital of Calcutta he made a gift of Rs. 10,000 each. It will thus be seen that the late Prosonno Coomar Tagore's charities were as extensive and diversified in their scope as they were discreetly discriminate in their character. It required not only a noble and magnanimous mind to achieve this result, but a very wise and intelligent one also.

Like him, his successors have also been eminently liberal. In the year 1877, on the accession of Her Majesty as Queen-Empress of India, Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore made a free gift of the land on which the Mayo Hospital was built, and supplemented the gift by presenting Government with Promissory notes to the value of Rs. 10,000 in aid of that much-valued institution. In recognition of this liberality, the Government has honoured the donor by naming one of the wards of the Mayo Hospital after him. He has also founded some valuable scholarships in the name of his father and uncle. He made over to the Calcutta University in the year 1883 the sum of Rs. 3,500 in 4 per cent. Government Promissory notes in order to found two medals, a gold and a silver one, to be open to competition amongst the students of the Tagore Law Lectures. He has also set apart funds for a provision of a gold armlet (keyur) to be presented to the best student in Sanscrit literature in the Calcutta University. He has awarded another medal to the best student in Physical science. But the best and most useful endowment he has made is that for the benefit of Hindu widows. It is valued at one lakh of rupees and is given to perpetuate the memory of his deceased mother, after whom it is named 'Maharaj Mata Shib Sundari Debi's Hindu Widow's Fund.' An equally good endowment of Rs. 25,000 has been made by him for the noble object of the relief of helpless orphans.

Amongst the descendants of the late Prosonno Coomar Tagore, Raja Sourindra Mohun Tagore is second to none in point of liberality and public spirit. He is the first enlightened Native of India who studied the Sanscrit theory of music, on which he is presumably the best living authority. He founded the Bengal School of Music in August 1871 and the Bengal Academy of Music a few years afterwards, both of which institutions are conducted at his sole expense and under his authority. He maintains a charitable homœopathic dispensary in Calcutta, which is highly popular with the poorer classes of the native community. On the outbreak of the plague in the metropolis he came forward and liberally placed a large house for use as a Plague Hospital. For the equipment and maintenance of this hospital he has given a donation of Rs. 1,000. On the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and the Republics of Africa, Raja Sourindra Mohun Tagore set the noble example of contributing towards the Mansion House War Fund and towards the equipment of Lumsden's Horse. Both he and his uncle, Maharajah Jotindra Mohun Tagore, subscribed Rs. 5,000 each towards the expenses of raising Lumsden's Horse, and to their joint efforts was due in no small measure the success of the British Indian Association meeting for rais-

ing subscriptions towards the Transvaal War Fund. During times of distress the charity of the Tagore family has always been on a large scale. Maharajah Jotindra Mohun Tagore made himself conspicuous by his liberality during the great famine of 1866. In Midnapore alone, where the scarcity was very great, he made a remission of rents to his tenantry to the amount of Rs. 40,000. For the present famine he has subscribed a sum of Rs. 10,000.

Maharajah Durga Charan Law, originally of Chinsurah—the prince of merchants and a very wealthy zemindar—is greatly famous for his public spirit and liberality. As a patron of learning his fame stands high throughout Bengal. He awards every year ten studentships to poor students reading in the English department of the Hooghly College, and a scholarship of Rs. 25 per mensem to a B.A. student of the College preparing for the degree of M.A. in any branch. Besides this he gives numerous scholarships to students of the Presidency College. For these he has endowed a sum of Rs. 50,000, which have been placed in the hands of the Director of Public Instruction of Bengal. Needless to say, these scholarships help hundreds of poor boys who have absolutely no means whatever not only to prosecute their studies but to carve out their career in after-life and distinguish themselves in various spheres. He has endowed, in addition to this, several lakhs of rupees for the purpose of aiding the helpless and poor of his caste and community. In Chinsurah alone he pays monthly a sum of several hundred rupees for the maintenance of poor widows and orphans and the destitute class of natives. In Cuttack at Killah Harishpore he has built temples and endowed them with landed property fetching an annual income of Rs. 2,500. To the proposed water-works of Hooghly he has subscribed Rs. 10,000. During the famines of 1866 he took a most active part in the relief of distress, and has always liberally contributed towards all benevolent objects of public charity. His brother Shama Charan Law has done a great good to the Calcutta public by the construction and maintenance of an Eye Infirmary. It is situated just north of the Medical College Hospital. An endowment with Rs. 60,000 has been created by the donor for its maintenance. Maharajah Durga Charan Law is greatly noted for his liberality towards his tenants. He has spent about sixty thousand rupees in the district of Khulna alone in cutting canals and digging tanks in his Morelgunge estate for the benefit of the poor ryots. For them he has established a charitable dispensary at Morelgunge, the up-keep of which costs him Rs. 1,800 annually. His charity towards medical relief has always been on a liberal scale. To the Mayo and Dufferin hospitals he has given a donation of Rs. 5,000 each.

He supports quite a host of dispensaries at an immense cost in the Mofussil, of which I may mention the Bagerhat, Khulna, Tumluk, Chuadanga, Uluberiah, Jessore and Comillah charitable dispensaries. To the District Charitable Society he has subscribed Rs. 14,000 and to the Suverna Barnik Charity Fund Rs. 10,000. For the relief of the sufferers in the present famine he has given Rs. 10,000. The Calcutta Zoo laboratory owes its existence to the munificence of his brother Joy Gobindo Law who has made a donation of Rs. 15,000 towards its establishment.

There are few great men in this country who can vie with the Burdwan Raj in its spirit of religious devotion, public beneficence and charity. The Burdwan Palace may well be described as the fortress of Hinduism. There is not a god in the Hindu mythology to whom a temple has not been dedicated by this pious raj family. The royal style and structure of these temples must strike everyone with awe and reverence. Every temple has its necessary paraphernalia of *Natmandir* (Ball-room) and *Nobotkhana* (Concert-room), its priesthood, its customary offerings and worship, and its daily distribution of food to poor Brahmins and beggars. Not only in Burdwan, but throughout the province wherever its extensive estates are situated, are seen such spectacular visions of rows of beautiful temples with their contingent machinery of Brahmin priests and worshippers, their offerings of food and flowers, their bands of singers and pipers. The group of 108 temples popularly known as the 'Shivalaya,' situated a couple of miles from Burdwan in a large open maidan and arranged in two concentric circles, is perhaps the most notable feature amongst the whole of these numerous temples. There is also a group of fine fanes of equal number in Culna, standing charmingly on the banks of the Bhagirathi, of which the temple of Lalji is the most famous and beautiful. It is elaborately carved and ornamented and is built on high ground, with a spacious courtyard, its high and big dome with its glittering pinnacle forming the most conspicuous object of the place and its neighbourhood. During the Shivaratri festival the Shivalaya temples are illuminated and make a splendid sight. In Culna the temple of Lalji and the adjoining temples become a blaze of light during the night of the *Jhulun Jatra*. The Burdwan Palace becomes a scene of delight during the Saraswati Puja festival. The entire surroundings and buildings of the Palace are illuminated, fire-works and bon-fires blaze in every street, singing and dancing go on everywhere, and pantomimes, jugglery and mimicry are the order of the day. In the Mahtab Munzil distinguished guests are entertained with music and rich repasts. In every temple as many men are fed as can

put in an appearance. The maintenance of these religious institutions is a most heavy item of expenditure. There is a splendid endowment fetching an annual income of over a lakh of rupees (Rs. 1,11,373) for meeting these expenses alone. It is said that none ever starves in Burdwan, as well as in Culna, owing to the extensive charities of the Raj, as in every temple Brahmins and poor people can get their fill daily.

Amongst the representatives of the Raj family the late Maharajah Mahatab Chand Bahadur was a person of great ability. He managed his great estates with such marked success that they became the most prosperous in Bengal. At the time of the Santhal rebellion in 1855, and again during the troubles of the mutiny, the Maharajah did all that he could to help the Government. He placed a large number of elephants and bullock-carts at the disposal of the Government and kept open communications in the neighbouring districts. During the famine of 1866 he rendered invaluable services to the country. With princely liberality he opened up *annachatras* (almshouses) throughout his estates and was the means of saving the lives of hundreds of thousands of starving creatures. Just on the outbreak of the famine, the Maharajah made the munificent offer to Government to provide for all the destitute paupers in Burdwan entirely at his own expense. It was at once accepted by Government, and from 6th September the work of gratuitous relief in the town was made over to the Maharajah. No less than 6,000 persons were daily fed by him. Cloths were distributed gratuitously to 2,183 persons in all and subsistence money was given to enable the paupers to return to their homes when the distress subsided. The total expenditure of the Maharajah was up to the 4th November in the town alone about Rs. 20,000. Besides the distribution at the special relief houses, some hundreds of poor people were daily fed at the Maharajah's temples at Culna. As a patron of Sanscrit learning, his name stands high. His court was daily thronged by learned pundits, on whom he showered riches and honour. He caused the translation of the sacred books of the nation and spent almost a fabulous amount of wealth in carrying out this worthy object. The translation and publication, both in the original and the vernacular, of the gems of Sanscrit literature, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and the codes of Manu, Mitakshara, Jagnavalka, etc., were carried out in a most admirable manner and in a short period of time. The gigantic nature of the task is sufficient—to use Oom Paul's well-known phraseology—to stagger humanity. With a magnanimity unexampled in these days, he caused copies of these invaluable works to be freely distributed throughout the educated world among oriental

pundits and western savants. It is very difficult to give exact facts and figures with reference to the costs incurred in these publications, but I have learnt on very good authority that not less than several lakhs of rupees were spent for the purpose.

The Raj has been most liberal towards the encouragement of learning. Its free schools and college and Sanscrit *tol* attest this most remarkably. The Burdwan Raj College was established in the year 1817 and has since been supplying the educational demands of the Burdwan public in a most satisfactory manner. It began its career as an Anglo-Vernacular School, imparting the rudiments of learning to the people in the early days of British rule, and, passing through various phases of utility, it at last developed into a Second Grade College in 1881. The educational establishment is divided into six branches: (1) The College Department, affiliated to the Calcutta University. (2) The School Department, a feeder of the above. (3) The Bengali School, teaching up to the Vernacular Scholarship Examination Standard. (4) The Persian Department, teaching those boys of the first two departments who take up Persian as their second language. (5) The Sanscrit School, imparting instruction in the orthodox native style to those whose religious scruples prevent them from availing themselves of the advantages of the English school. (6) Last, but not least, the Girl's School, the present provision in connection with which is adequate enough to meet the requirements of female education in Burdwan. The disbursements in the different departments aggregate annually about Rs. 21,000, all these being entirely met by the liberality of the Raj. What is the most prominent and praiseworthy feature of the whole machinery of educational administration is that public instruction in all its phases is imparted gratuitously to all, and several boys in consideration of their extreme indigence, besides being provided with free tuition, are maintained at the expense of the Raj. In addition to this it maintains a free Entrance School in Culna and hosts of other minor and vernacular schools throughout the zemindari. These minor educational establishments cost from seven to nine thousand rupees yearly. For the construction of the Raj College building it has spent considerably over a lakh of rupees. It maintains also a Public Library at Burdwan.

Its charitable dispensaries entail a yearly expenditure of no less than sixteen thousand rupees. The insanitary state of Burdwan and the much-dreaded fever which is named after the town have all along occupied the careful consideration of the medical authorities, and, prompted by a spirit of philanthropy, the Raj came forward with large subsidies of money to cope with the ravages of the disease by the establishment of an

excellent charitable dispensary and hospital in Burdwan. Besides maintaining a female ward in the hospital, the Raj has subscribed Rs. 25,000 to the Lady Dufferin's Zenana Hospital.

In addition to the alms-houses maintained out of religious endowments, the Raj maintains several others in Burdwan and elsewhere at a cost of Rs. 20,000 yearly. It subsidises various other charitable institutions all over the country at an annual expense of Rs. 8,262. For the preservation of cattle and for breeding purposes it spends yearly Rs. 8,430, and for the delectation of the public it has kept up a menagerie and *philkhana* at an expenditure of over Rs. 12,000 yearly. The Burdwan water-works owe their existence to the munificence and liberality of the Raj. Much of the credit for this wise and liberal administration of the Burdwan Raj is due to Raja Bon Bihari Kapur, the natural father of the present minor Maharajah of Burdwan. Appointed sole manager in 1891, he has since very ably and wisely steered the ship of estate through troublous and tempestuous seas, winning fresh laurels for his industry and capability every year and the golden opinion of everybody who came in contact with him. We all sincerely wish the young Maharaj Kumar long life and prosperity. When he comes of age, may he follow the noble example of munificent liberality and beneficence which his illustrious forefathers have set before him!

I close this article with the following details of the works of public utility constructed by the zemindars of the Hooghly district:—

1. Tribeni bridge (masonry)—by Prankissen Haldar.
2. Metalled road from Ghyretty to Chandernagore—Kasinath and other Banerjees of Teliniparah. Surya Mohan Banerjee founded two scholarships for the Hooghly College.
3. Iron suspension bridge of Satgaon—Raja of Burdwan and other zemindars.
4. Iron suspension bridge, Mogra—Raja of Burdwan.
5. Smyth's ghât—Chakuram Singh and other zemindars.
6. Gholghât—Ramkumar Roy, zemindar.
7. Old Benares road to Janai—Ram Naryan Mookherjee, zemindar.
8. Buxagori road to Balagarh—Bhogobatty Charan Bose, zemindar.
9. Hât Bahadurgung to Jirat—Madan Dutt, zemindar.
10. Magra to Bhastrara—Chakuram Singh, zemindar.
11. Iron suspension bridge, Nanserai—Raja of Burdwan and other zemindars.
12. Nanserai to Culna road and two bridges—Raja of Burdwan.

13. Hooghly Branch School—Burdwan Raj, Dwarka Nath Tagore and other zemindars (with a zemindari scholarship of Rs. 8 monthly for the same).
14. Road from Jonai to Saraswati and Connagore—Zemindars of Jonai.
15. Road from Baidyabati to Govindpore. The same zemindars of Jonai.
16. Feeder road from Haripal to Bunderhatty—By Nri-shingha Chandra Addy at a cost of Rs. 15,000.
17. Kholcini road—By the sons of late Nil Rotton Bose of Chandernagore.
18. Road from Mohiri to Howrah—By Annoda Prosad Kundu Chowdhury at a cost of Rs. 20,310. He also maintains a school and an alms-house at Mohiri.
19. Kyekala H. C. E. School—By Brindabon Chandra Bose, zemindar, and solely maintained by him.
- 20.—Andul H. C. E. School—By the Raja of Andul, who also maintains an *atithsala* in Andul.
21. Rajgung and Andul road—By the Andul Raj at a cost of Rs. 8,000.
22. Saraswati Bridge at Andul—By the Andul Raj.
23. Road from Burdwan to Culna extending over 30 miles—By the Raja of Burdwan.

There is hardly a single road in the Hooghly district which has not been constructed by the zemindars. They have also materially assisted Government in the construction of the following roads:—

- (1) The road from Baidyabati to Haripal ; (2) from Chinsurah to Dhoniakhali ; (3) from Hooghly to Dwarbasini ; (4) from Pandooah to Culna ; (5) from Howrah to Jagutbullabpore. It is these communications which have given so great an impetus to the growing trade and prosperity of the district, and they have all been made, most of them entirely, and some partly, at the expense of the landholding class. It is not only in the district of Hooghly, but in others as well, that the public spirit of the zemindars has been manifest in this way.

ICH DIEN.

ART. VIII—THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL INDUSTRIES IN INDIA.

“INDIA possesses,” says Sir William Wedderburn, “the conditions of almost boundless agricultural wealth. In her vast domain she has climates suited to every known product. She has a fertile soil and an unfailing sun, with abundant labour, skilful and cheap. Give the ryot that, on reasonable terms, so that he may be able to command a proper supply of water and manure, and he will produce in perfection every valuable crop known to cultivation. But unfortunately at present the ryot as a class has no capital.”

India is a vast country, almost a Continent, full of inexhaustible natural resources. Her poverty is mainly due to ignorance, prejudice, and want of enterprising spirit on the part of her people to develop and utilise these resources and thereby bring out her potential wealth. Instead of joining in an indiscriminate rush, either towards the learned professions, which have ceased to be lucrative by reason of overcrowding and keen competition, or to Government service, the scope of which is too limited to afford employment to more than a few, they would do well to cultivate the growth of local industries. These are mainly the construction of Railways, Canals and Irrigation Works, roads and bridges, the reclamation of marshes, the provision and regulation of a local water-supply, and a better method of conducting agricultural and manufacturing operations. The last two fall within the scope of private enterprise ; the rest are largely dependent upon Government aid.

Of the three principal elements for the production of wealth, land, labour, and capital, India possesses a unique advantage as regards the first two. She has an abundance of fertile and culturable land and available cheap labour. The deficiency of capital can be remedied by means of Joint Stock Companies which, if well organised and conducted on economical principles, would afford the means of turning to good account small capitals belonging to several individuals. Small capitals, which, if separately applied, would do little towards the production of wealth, are brought together by Joint Stock Companies and accomplish industrial works of the utmost importance. A thousand individuals who have saved Rs. 1,000 each, may not have the time, capacity or inclination themselves to employ the money in business. If each of these individuals subscribed his Rs. 1,000 to one common fund, a capital would be created sufficient to work a large Manchester manufactory, and they

would become proprietors and promoters of a great commercial concern, annually employing many hundreds of labourers.

All the available means of enriching India being at hand, how is it that she is getting poorer and poorer day by day? Why are vast areas of land lying fallow for want of cultivation? Why are local industries gradually dying out and giving place to foreign enterprise? Why, notwithstanding many local advantages, are the people of India being beaten hollow in the contest for commercial supremacy? The reason is not far to seek. They lean too much on State support. They have a mistaken notion that everything must be done by Government for the people and nothing by the people, forgetting the golden principle that God helps those who help themselves. The principles of free-trade have been pronounced by competent authorities to be more beneficial than those of protection. State aid clogs and hampers private industry instead of fostering it.

Then, again, the middle class gentry, though poor, labour under a narrow prejudice against agricultural or commercial pursuits, which they are in the habit of treating as menial, ignoring the important truth, that no avocation, so long as it is an honest means of gaining a livelihood, is ignoble. Prejudice against sea-travel has also a considerable share in keeping the people of India ignorant of modern improvements in the arts of agricultural and manufacturing industry. The reason why the native handicrafts have been to a great extent supplanted by European industries conducted with the help of machinery is that the Hindus who constitute the bulk of the Indian population cannot overcome the popular prejudice against visiting foreign countries to obtain scientific knowledge, without which it is hopeless to carry on these pursuits successfully in competition with European skill and machinery. They ought to know that travelling by sea to foreign countries for the purpose of acquiring useful knowledge is not against the principles of Hindu religion. According to the authority of the Mahabharat what is beneficial to mankind is in conformity with religion. As useful sea-travel is beneficial to mankind, it is perfectly allowable although not sanctioned by the Dharma-Shastras. The Hindu religion, as inculcated in the Upanishads and the Geeta, is liberal in its provisions. In case of conflict between these original Scriptures and the Dharma-Shastra, which is a later compilation, the authority of the former should prevail. There is no conflict between true religion and *shanatan* (everlasting) Hindu religion. Sea-travel as it is beneficial to mankind is consistent with true religion and, therefore, consistent with Hindu religion irrespectively of the provisions of the Dharma-Shastras.

Let us now see what are the best methods of developing the local industries in India. These industries are mainly two, agricultural and manufacturing.

AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY.

India is purely an agricultural country, nearly 83 per cent. of her population being agricultural. When so large a proportion of the people are engaged in husbandry, they will fare badly unless it undergoes considerable improvement. "No doubt the margin of cultivation," says Mr. T. N. Mukerji, "has rapidly expanded on all sides. Where formerly the roar of the tiger broke the stillness of the sleeping jungle, the busy hum can be heard of the multitude reaping the golden harvest. A more careful cultivation has also enabled valuable to take the place of less valuable crops." But our peasants are ignorant of agricultural science even of an elementary character. Their imperfect knowledge of the nature and properties of the soil, of the best means of manuring it, of the choice of seeds, and their inability to protect their crops from the ravages of birds and insects, prevent them from obtaining the best available outturn.

The nature of the soil is different in different parts of India. Some soils are low, others high, some moist and marshy, others hard and rocky, some waste and sterile, others arable and fertile. How to improve the soil, to know what particular soil is adapted to the growth of a particular crop, or how many different crops can be annually raised without impairing the fertility of the soil, in these and other divers matters the husbandmen are guided more by a sort of instinct than the principles of agricultural science. They can deal only with the limited cases coming within the range of their experience, and when anything unusual turns up, they are out of their element. If to their natural sagacity they added the advantage of agricultural knowledge of a scientific nature, much benefit would be derived.

The outturn of crops is materially affected by the ignorance of our peasantry of the best method of manuring the soil. What sort of manure is adapted to particular soils, when, how, and in what proportion to use it, cannot be satisfactorily known without some knowledge of chemistry. The result is that the capital and labour bestowed upon land often go for nothing. It is high time that steps should be taken to teach the husbandmen the art of manuring so as to reduce the chance of failure of crops to a minimum.

The want of a proper knowledge and choice of seed has also its share in the failure or scanty growth of crops. The husbandmen, on account of their necessities, consume or dispose

of all their paddy and wheat, keeping little or nothing for seed. This is either advanced to them by the landlord or has to be obtained by borrowing. Seed secured under such difficulties cannot be expected to be the best, or such as the tenant requires. The choice is often left to the landlord, who, in most cases not having seen the land and not knowing its nature and properties, is in a worse position than the tenant to make a proper selection. The agricultural knowledge of a scientific nature, so needful in these matters, should, under existing circumstances, begin at least with the land-holding classes, from whom, by a natural process of filtration, it will gradually permeate to the cultivators of the soil.

The art of agriculture has retained its indigenous character in India, and is susceptible of much improvement. For instance, the ploughing machine may be so constructed as to be capable of being drawn by one bullock instead of two as are necessary at present. A similar alteration in the machine may, when worked with two bullocks, be made to form two furrows at a time instead of one. The English plough, no doubt, turns up more earth and makes a deeper cut than the implement used by the Indian peasant, but if we calculate the comparative net profits after deducting the expenses of cultivation by means of the two implements, the native method is more remunerative. While the use of simple tools is indispensably necessary, the opinion of experts may be advantageously availed of with a view to introducing the use of such English implements of husbandry as are simple, fit for using with bullocks, and productive of larger profits than are derived by the use of native tools.

Some knowledge of Botany is necessary to improve our horticulture and agriculture. As our preservation and healthy existence depend upon a knowledge of medical science, so those of the vegetable kingdom depend upon a knowledge of Botany. Inability to protect their crops from the ravages of birds and insects is another cause why our peasants cannot reap a full harvest. It has been stated on good authority that through the ravages of the weevil in the grain of India, no less a sum than half a crore of rupees is annually lost to the country. By counteracting the ravages of this insect, this amount could be secured and the wealth of India correspondingly increased.

An objection may be raised that our husbandmen are so ignorant that it would be difficult to give them even an elementary agricultural education, but it should be borne in mind that they have practical knowledge of the subject sufficient to enable them to understand and profit by the kind of theoretical knowledge which they require.

A primitive system of husbandry which sufficed to meet the wants of a scanty population when there was abundance of land available, no longer suffices now that the demand for human food has become so great and so large an area of poor soil has to be tilled.

Sir James Caird, probably the highest agricultural authority in England, says: "The agricultural system, except in the rich and irrigated lands, is to eat or sell every saleable article the land produces, to use the manure of the cattle for fuel, and to return nothing to the soil in any proportion to that which is taken away. Crop follows crop without intermission, so that Indian agriculture is becoming simply a process of exhaustion."

The test of agricultural success lies in making the land yield not only a greater quantity, but a better quality, of crops than is ordinarily produced. This can be done only by a better system of manuring the land, and by those improved methods of cultivation that have been pointed out in the preceding pages. The various superior specimens of country produce shown in Exhibitions establish the fact that the soil is capable of producing a superior quality of crops, if only the requisite amount of skilful labour is bestowed on it. There are certain fruits which greatly improved when produced in certain localities, such as the oranges of Sylhet and the mangoes of Bombay and Maldah. Experiments should be made in order to produce such superior fruits in other parts of India. Similar experiments should be tried on potatoes and Indian corn.

Gradually the experiment should be extended to foreign produce. Cabul fruits of various description are remarkable for their excellence. Has anybody tried the experiment of introducing their cultivation in India? No doubt English fruits and vegetables are grown in India, but we should not stop short until we have succeeded in producing these exotics as excellent as they are in the country of their origin. For this purpose a knowledge of the nature and properties of the soil is indispensably necessary. There are instances in which Europeans have made considerable fortunes by taking on lease vast areas of what had hitherto remained waste and successfully cultivating a particular crop or discovering mines. Europeans have opened our eyes not only to the wonderful capabilities of the soil, but the excellent properties of many plants and vegetables which we formerly regarded as useless. For instance, wild tea grew in this country; but nobody knew its uses until European planters began its cultivation here. The tea industry has attained a great development, especially in Assam. But, like many other local industries, it has been monopolised by foreigners. British capitalists have sown and

are now reaping the harvest hundred-fold. Yet for the last five seasons the tea of Mr. M. L. Haldar, Manager, National Tea Company, has secured the highest prices in the market. It is not lack of capacity, but lack of enterprise, which stands in the way of native progress in the development of the local industries in India.

THE COTTON INDUSTRY.

The cotton industry of India, which had almost died out, shows signs of revival, at least in Bombay. Mr. Jamsetjee N. Tata, a public-spirited gentleman of Bombay, who has recently established a handsome endowment for the encouragement of original research, published, some time ago, a valuable memorandum suggesting experiments on a large scale in the growth of Egyptian cotton in India. "The present state of our cotton industry in India, is," he writes, "a subject of great anxiety not only to the capitalists who have invested very large sums in the erection and purchase of buildings and machinery but to all who have the well-being of India at heart. Our greatest reliance is at present on a foreign country, China. But there is an awakening of the nations of the farthest East. The new infant prodigy Japan is advancing in all the arts and sciences with leaps and bounds, and the old giant China seems to be just awakening from her sleep of ages. Then Germany, Austria and Belgium have seriously come forward to compete with England in the effort to stuff us with their manufacturies. Under these circumstances it has become an obvious necessity for us all to consider how our young industry is to be saved from threatened destruction."

If we look at the statistics of our foreign imports, our attention is at once riveted by the enormous amount of grey, dyed and printed goods we receive at our four principal ports. The sum of these imports totals up to an average of not less than thirty crores of rupees per annum. These are principally superior classes of goods made from foreign cotton. Some passable wefts of the coarser grades may be made from our home-grown cotton; but for the higher classes of goods the use of exotic cotton is more or less necessary. If India were enabled to grow for herself the long-stapled varieties she would derive immense benefit in three different directions:—

- (1) Her agriculturists would have an additional and probably more paying crop to handle.
- (2) The country would gain by having so much less foreign produce to import and pay for.
- (3) The State would gain immensely in its exchange operations if India were not under the necessity of

importing goods to clothe her people to the extent of very nearly 30 crores per annum.

If the cultivation of Egyptian cotton proved at all feasible, it might be the means of solving one of the greatest problems of the generation.

THE SUGAR INDUSTRY.

The sugar industry of India is being gradually developed. The area under sugarcane has enormously increased during the last quarter of a century; while the task of extracting the juice has been cheapened and simplified by the introduction of the portable roller mills which India owes to the enterprise of Messrs. Burrows, Thompson & Co. The immense home-production has not, however, sensibly affected foreign imports. Almost every tropical country is laid under contribution. Mauritius, the Islands of the Spanish Main, South America, even Germany compete to supply an ever-growing demand. And yet it admits of no dispute that the consumption of sugar would be still vaster, but for the suspicion with which orthodox Hindus regard the refined article. For most people know that the snowy color so much admired in the higher grades is the result of filtration through layers of animal charcoal made by calcining the bones of animals both clean and unclean. The people of India must overcome the prejudice against the use of sugar refined by the above process before they can be expected to improve the sugar industry of the country. In most countries the opportunity of catering for a population twice as large as Russia would long since have been seized upon by capitalists. Here, in spite of the contagion of foreign enterprise, it is only within the last few years that an attempt has been made to exploit this untrodden field.

The Cawnpore Sugar Works, a limited company with a capital of six lakhs, largely held by Indians, is engaged in turning out daily 15 to 20 tons of refined sugar of absolute purity. Cawnpore has been selected as the sphere of its operations, because it is the greatest railway centre in India, has an abundance of cheap labour, and is already an important market for crude sugar. "At present," says Mr. Skrine, late of the Indian Civil Service, "the company's sugar is largely bought by brokers who insist on supplying their own bags and who dub it by whatever name stands highest for the time in the market. Now the old proverb 'good wine needs no bush' certainly does not apply in modern commerce. He who wishes to succeed must 'boom' his wares. The company would be well advised if they inserted on every bag a certificate in several languages, signed by a Hindu of high caste, and great repute, testifying to its purity. The contents should be

secured by a leaden seal bearing the sign of Saraswati, which might also be stamped very legibly on each bag. Agents should be appointed for the vend of this special product at all the great centres of population. With these precautions the Cawnpore Sugar Works would soon become a household word in millions of Hindu families, and its wares would be in equal request with all who value purity in the great sweetener of their existence."

THE MINERAL INDUSTRY,

The mineral wealth of India has to some extent been developed. The soil in any place is chiefly composed of underlying rocks which largely determine its value and show its capabilities. There is, therefore, great reason for acquiring a knowledge of the geology of the country. India is rich in good iron ore, but without coal it cannot be smelted on a large scale. For a number of years scientific men have been engaged in the Geological Survey of India, and already several valuable coalfields have been discovered. The East Indian Railway uses Bengal coal costing only Rs. 2 per ton, while imported coal costs Rs. 15. The saving to the company in 1885 alone amounted to upwards of 30 lakhs. Nor is this the only gain. Mr. T. N. Mukerjee estimated that through the coal and coke brought to Calcutta no less than 50 lakhs a year was saved to that city and its neighbourhood.

"By the introduction of coal and coke the land formerly covered with firewood trees has been relieved for the cultivation of rice. Not only have those lands been made available for a more valuable crop, but by the substitution of an underground product, the whole of the present underground product is so much new wealth to the country."

The principal art of production of wealth lies in this, that every country should mainly produce that for which it has the greatest natural advantages. England is rich in coal and iron the great requirements of modern manufactures. It is, therefore, most profitable to England to import food and raw produce giving in exchange manufactured goods. India has plenty of iron ore, but it has only scattered patches of coal without which the former is of little avail. It is also only recently that these patches have been worked. On the other hand India has fertile plains with brilliant sun-shine, favourable to the growth of cotton, grain, indigo, &c. While manufactures should be encouraged, India must remain chiefly agricultural.

FOREIGN COMMERCE.

Steps should be taken to improve foreign commerce, for it has proved a great incentive to the production of wealth.

The husbandman of Bengal formerly grew almost everything for himself. A holding then, upland or low-land, with clayey or sandy soil, was forced to produce all manner of crops whether the soil was favourable or not for the growth of a particular crop. Now, with money in his pocket to buy oil, one finds it pays him better to grow paddy on land on which he formerly grew oilseeds; while another at the same time finds it more lucrative to sow oilseeds where formerly he sowed rice. Jute had no exchangeable value before; it has been converted into gold by the mere touch of foreign trade. Some years ago myrabolams could be seen rotting in the jungles; foreign trade has turned them into valuable commodities.

It is gratifying to note that foreign commerce has increased from 2 crores a year to 190 crores. Mr. T. N. Mukerjee says:—

“The vast increase in our exports and imports, that has taken place of late years, signifies that our increasing purchasing power is being utilised for the purchase of articles which we now consider necessary for the satisfaction of our wants. The increase in our purchasing power has taken place owing to the following reasons:—

(1) The readiness other countries have expressed to exchange their goods for our goods; (2) the facilities afforded for this exchange by a settled Government and the improved means of inter-communication between different countries; (3) the increase in the quantity of our wealth by increased production; (4) the increase in the value of our wealth compared with foreign wealth with which it is exchanged.”

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.

The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves. False ideas with regard to labour should be given up. Educated young men in India should be willing to engage in any occupation that offers an honest livelihood. “The sooner the idea that Government employment is the Ultima Thule of education is scooped out of the heads of our youths the better. The wielding of a spade or the driving of a plough, or the treading of a watering lever in one's interest, is not a whit less honourable than scratching foolscap by goose-quills, taken by itself.”

Side by side with agricultural improvement there should be development of the manufactures of the country. One thing which struck Sir James Caird was the number of idle people in India.

“In no agricultural country that I know of are so many people to be seen stalking idly about during the hours of labour

as in India. The streets and court-houses and yards are full of idlers ; the roads are never empty, and the railway stations and native railway carriages are crammed with people. Entering a village at any hour of the day you are surrounded by idlers. Much of this arises from the absence of other occupations than agriculture."

The Famine Commissioners begin their report by saying : —

"We have elsewhere expressed our opinion that at the root of much of the poverty of the people of India, and the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and that no remedy for the present can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such support."

Sir William Hunter thus pointed out the necessity of using every means for improving Indian manufacture. "There is no use in disguising the fact that India has to compete with other countries in her industries in a way which she has not done before. India has to compete with Australia for wheat, with China for tea, with California and other countries, and she will only be able to do this if she gives her children the same kind of education as the people of those places have. That lies at the root of all technical education. We wish that our agriculture shall beat the agriculture of other countries ; that our artisans in metals shall beat the artisans of other countries ; that our employés in cotton mills shall beat those of other countries ; and if you are to enable them to go so far, you must give them the education of those in the other countries, and I sincerely hope that the country will take hold of this feeling."

Among the articles or processes may be named the manufacture and refining of sugar ; the tanning of hides ; the manufacture of fabrics of cotton, wool and silk ; the preparation of fibres of other sorts and of tobaccos ; the manufacture of paper, pottery, glass, soap and candles. We should not forget the old saying current in our country that commerce is the abode of the goddess of wealth. Some of these arts are already practised with success at Government establishments, such as the tannery at Cawnpore, which largely supplies harness for the army. The resolution of the Government of India, that in all cases where Indian manufactures can be obtained as good in quality as imported articles and not dearer in price they shall be substituted for them, is an encouragement to their production.

The plan proposed by the Famine Commissioners is as follows :—

“In treating of the improvement of agriculture we have indicated how we think the more scientific methods of Europe may be brought into practical operation in India by help of specially trained experts, and the same general system may, we believe, be applied with success both to the actual operations of agriculture and to the preparation for the market of the raw agricultural staples of the country. Nor does there appear any reason why action of this sort should stop short at agricultural produce, and should not be extended to the manufactures which India now produces on a small scale or in a rude form, and which with some improvement might be expected to find enlarged sales and could take the place of similar articles now imported from foreign countries.”

KAILAS CHUNDRA KANJILAL, B.L.

ART IX.—LORD LYTTON AND THE AFGHANS.

LADY BETTY BALFOUR'S pious labour has recalled the memory of a national tragedy which has been somewhat hidden from the present generation by more recent anxieties. But the events of 1878-80 have not passed away without leaving permanent marks upon the fortunes of British India. Pollock and Pelly are gone—the two men who could have told most about the genesis of the trouble. All the protagonists, Nemesis, with her sinister smile, has swept into her bag; Sher Ali in exile and despair, Colley and Cavagnari in bloody tumult, Lord Lytton himself—all have disappeared; and it is left to us to review their doings and take note of the lessons they have left. Lady Betty has done her work with intelligence and zeal; and two of the few competent survivors, Sir J. Strachey and Sir A. C. Lyall, have given help. Other matters—famine, finance, etc., have come under notice; but no doubt can be felt, but that the chapters of deepest actuality are those which relate to the Afghan nation and the war.

As the first duty of critics is to criticise let us get that part of our task over by pointing out two objections which can be easily met in a second edition. The one is to the form and bulk of the work. It weights $2\frac{3}{4}$ pounds avoirdupois, and it may safely be wagered that the fair author has never attempted to read it on her sofa. The other is the inattentive proof-reading which has led to printers' errors unusual in a work issued by the house of Longman. Of these the drollest is at page 53, where the word "khureeta" is made to mean the name of a place, instead of what we all know—or should know—to be its true signification. "Sir L. Pelly will be accompanied by Dr. Bellew and Major St. John, for the purpose of delivering *at Khureeta* a letter, etc." Slips of this kind ought to be corrected by a careful and competent reader, whose attention might also be drawn to errors of detail such as that on page 18, where Lord Dalhousie is represented as making a treaty with the Amir Dost Mohammed in 1857, more than a year after he had laid down his office and gone home to die. As for the shape and size of the book—which is at present a sore obstacle to its enjoyment—an improvement could be made by dividing it into two parts, war and Administration, and issuing it in two handy volumes, of which one would deal with Famine work and Finance, the other being confined to the subject now under notice.

The first Chapter is that in which the direct inspiration of Sir J. Strachey is most perceptible; and the reader will regret

to find that ill-health has caused a diminution of his valuable aid in later portions. It contains, however, important matter, now for the first time made public, which goes far to absolve Lord Lytton from responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities. In earlier days he had sat at the feet of John Lawrence when that advocate of "masterly inactivity" was his neighbour at Bocket: the causes of his conversion are shown here from authentic and hitherto unedited correspondence. The Chapter gives a fair comparison of the Laurentian doctrine with the "forward policy," reducing the differences to a comparatively narrow field. Both Lawrence and his opponents were for maintaining the integrity of the Afghan State; where they differed was as to the method. According to Lawrence the State was to be regarded as entirely independent, to be protected, as an ally: all threats or aggressions from Russia to be at once taken up as *casus belli* against that Empire. The "Forwards" on the other hand, regarded the Amir and his dominions as an informal annexe or dependency—the relation was not clearly defined—and our action was to be mainly applied to keeping things quiet by the presence and instrumentality of British Agents at Herat and Kandahar. The writers of the 1st Chapter admit that Lord Lytton was appointed and instructed in order that he might carry out this latter scheme, which thus becomes a part of the general policy of the Cabinet of St. James, in which India was little more than a passive implement.

War was probably contemplated from the first. Hostilities with Russia, indeed, formed no part of the original programme; not only because it was an element of the policy to deal with Kabul rather than with Petersburg, but because the Czar's Government had accepted the northern frontier of the Afghan territory as the limit of his influence. But the Amir Sher Ali had long been in a sullen humour; and from the moment when Mr. Disraeli contemplated the possibility of having to interfere on behalf of Turkey in the impending attack by Russia, it must have been clear that trouble would arise for us in Central Asia.

Lord Lytton became Viceroy of India in March 1876, and in November of the same year General Ignatieff presented his famous ultimatum to the Porte; on the 24th April 1877 the Czar declared war against Turkey; and in May the British Foreign Secretary addressed a remonstrance to the Cabinet of the Czar; but by the end of the year the Turks had ceased to offer any valid resistance to the Muscovite advance, which in January 1878 was approaching Adrianople. The British Government lost not a day in making preparations for war, and on the 31st Parliament was called on for a vote

of credit avowedly for that object. In April (during the recess of Parliament) a considerable body of troops was ordered from India to the Mediterranean. This measure was immediately met by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg with an order to the Governor-General of Turkistan to depute a Mission to Kabul.

So far all is plain: the difficulty arises when we enquire how far the coming of this Mission—which reached Kabul in July—was a justification for the steps taken by the Government of India. What Lord Lytton did was to call upon the Amir to receive a British Mission at Kabul in the same manner. The Amir had two lines of excuse: he had not invited the Russian Mission; and by this time it had departed, or was about to do so. It has since been averred that Sher Ali had even gone the length of causing the death of the Afghan official who had allowed the Russian Mission to pass his fortified station: and Yákub Ali, the son and successor of Sher Ali, afterwards assured Sir F. Roberts that the Russian Mission left Kabul, *proprio motu*, as soon as the Berlin Congress was known to have assembled. Yákub also said—and it is quite confirmed by the book under notice—that General Kaufmann, the Governor-General of Turkestan, had been in correspondence with Sher Ali ever since 1873.

But none of these things were Sher Ali's fault; and the question was at once raised in London, by no less than Lord Lawrence himself, whether it was necessary to regard them as affording the Government of India a just ground for quarrelling with the Amir, or even for exerting any pressure upon his Highness that might amount to a provocation?

But Lord Lytton's mind was by this time made up. He had long formed a very strong preconception on the subject. According to this view, Sher Ali was very much the same sort of man that President Kruger has since been taken to be: "Sher Ali is not only a savage, but he is a savage with a touch of insanity. . . . During the last twelve months he has been arming to the teeth," (page 244.) Again, after pointing out the nature of the opportunity which was now offered, he proceeds—in the same despatch—"one last word. I am persuaded that the policy of building up in Afghanistan a strong and independent State, over which we can exercise absolutely no control, has been proved by experience to be a mistake." (246.) He therefore came to the conclusion that the independence of the Afghan Power ought to be absorbed, with a feudatory Khanate on the western border—"the destinies of Kabul itself would then be to us a matter of no importance." (247) Ultimately British India and Asian Russia might become terminous; and with that object in view he proposed the creation of a "scientific frontier" (250).

The first move towards this grandiose design was evidently the destruction of Sher Ali; and it was with that ulterior object that Lord Lytton urged on the British Government that he should not merely propose to the Amir the reception of a European British Envoy in Kabul, but should be authorised to "insist upon it." (page 270). This he did knowing that it was likely, if not certain, that Sher Ali would refuse, as he had already refused to allow such an officer to be even posted to Herat (85-87.)

That Lord Lytton was a man of genius may not be denied; but two things are clearly demonstrated by the logic of events. The policy was his own in the sense in which the somewhat similar policy of Auckland in a former generation was the policy of that ruler; and the undertaking has failed in the one case as much as it did in the other. Auckland's attempt on the independence of Afghanistan cost the British Empire fifteen millions of money, and ended in Dost Mahomed becoming stronger than he had been before, and founding a dynasty. Lord Lytton's undertaking, after a vast expenditure of blood and treasure, ended in the establishment of the present Amir, Abdur Rahman, in greatly enhanced power, and left the scientific frontier to be settled by his successors after a dispute with Russia in which the Government of India deserted its ally, and from which it emerged with difficulty and not without humiliation.

These are facts, not opinions. They do not detract from the merits of Lady B. Balfour's book, its calm tone and patient research. Nor ought they to detract from the admiration due to her distinguished parent, who—in constant ill-health and under the opposition of many reluctant colleagues—confronted heavy trials with gentle and unflinching courage. But perhaps he was made for other things than to be an antitype of his father's ballad, from Schiller, descriptive of Pegasus in harness.

ART. X.—THE BARA BHUYAS OF BENGAL.

THE close of the sixteenth century was a very troublous period for Bengal, the severe struggle which the Afghans and the Moguls were then making for supremacy having thrown the country into the utmost confusion. Taking advantage of this disturbed state of things, twelve principal zemindars, who are known as the Bâra Bhûyas, took up an attitude of independence. The status of these Bhûyas is not easily determinable. In fact, very little is known of the Bengal landholders before Akbar's reign. But this much is certain, that, about the year 1541, Sher Shah divided the districts of Bengal among a number of officers who were independent of each other; and that a few years afterwards Islam Khan abolished all former regulations regarding jagirs. Both history and tradition inform us that the twelve Bhûyas were independent of each other, that their rank and jurisdiction were hereditary, that they retained armed men and war-vessels, that they remitted to the Governor the revenue of their districts, and that they yielded a general obedience to the ruling power at Delhi. In some respects they were jagirdars and chakladars; but they more closely resembled the zemindars of later times. These Bhûyas ruled in East and South Bengal, and their territories lay in portions of the modern districts of Dacca, Mymensingh, Tippera, Noakhali (Bhullooah), Backargunge, Faridpur (Bhusnah) and Jessore.

Of these aristocratic lords, as Purchas calls them, seven were Mahomedans and five Hindus. Some of these Bhûyas were visited by the famous London merchant, Ralph Fitch, and he says that owing to the very unsettled state of the country they were in rebellion against the Great Mogul, Gelaluddin Akbar. Of all the Bhûyas Isa Khan of Khizrpur was the most powerful. He is described by the author of the *Ain-i-Akbari* as the lord of Lower Bengal and as ruler over twelve great zemindars. His father was a Bais Rajput of Oude, who, coming to Bengal during the reign of Hossein Shah, became a convert to Mahomedanism, receiving on that occasion the title of Sulaiman Khan. The new convert was honoured by the king with the hand of a princess who bore him two sons and one daughter. Their father being slain in battle, the two sons were taken prisoners, and sold as slaves. They were subsequently traced to Turan (Tartary), whence they were brought back by their uncle, Kutubuddin.

Like his father Isa Khan also married a princess and rose high in power and opulence. When, after Daud's defeat in 1576, his

scattered forces sought shelter in the Bhati country, he, in concert with Kárim Dad and Ibrahim, took command of them and proclaimed his independence. In 1583 the Mogul General, Shahbaz Khan, attacked Baktárápur, his residence, and, having destroyed it, took possession of his capital Sonárgáon. By this time Isa had probably acquired the position of Bhúya, as he was especially designated "the rich zemindar." After his defeat, he fled by ship to Chittagong, whence, collecting a body of soldiers he returned to Bengal and lay siege to the fort of the Raja of Kuch Bihar. After capturing the fort he constructed a dwelling-house at Khizrpur, which is situated about a mile to the north of Náráyangang. He subsequently subdued a considerable portion of East Bengal and erected forts at Rangamati on the frontier of Assam; at Tribeni, opposite to Náráyangang, and at Egárahsindhu, where the Lukhia branches off from the Brahmaputra.

Sircar Sonárgáon, which was the ninth on Todarmall's rent-roll, and comprehended also some parts of the present districts of Tippera and Noakhali, was, with the exception of pargana Bikrampur, included in his rule. In fact, he was the lord of East Bengal. Ralph Fitch visited Sonárgáon in 1586, and he has described Isa Khan as "the chief of all the other kings and a great friend to the Christians."

When Man Singh invaded East Bengal in 1595, he advanced to Egárahsindhu and besieged that strong fortress. Isa, who was then absent on an expedition, hastened to its relief, and challenged the proud Rajput to single combat. The challenge was accepted, but Man Singh sent in his stead, his son-in-law who was defeated and slain by the brave Isa. Then Man Singh himself entered the lists, but in the first encounter he lost his sword; whereupon the generous Isa offered him his own sword. Man Singh, without accepting it, dismounted from his horse. Isa also did the same and dared his adversary to a wrestling bout. Instead of acceding to his wish, the noble Rajput, struck with the chivalrous conduct of the man, embraced him in the sacred name of friendship. Thus matters ended happily.

Isa accompanied Man Singh to Agra, where the Emperor, being informed of the remarkable combat at Egárahsindhu, conferred upon him the titles of *Dewan* and *Masned-i-Ali* and made him a grant of several parganas in Bengal. After this we hear nothing of Isa. He appears to have died in 1598. His grandson, Masum Khan, was present at the siege and capture of Hooghly in 1632. The Bhúya rule in Sonárgáon was followed by the rule of the Mahomedan Kazis.

What Isa Khan was in East Bengal, Pratápáditya was in South Bengal. Pratáp was a Bangaja Kayastha, and was the

son of Vikramáditya. The latter was the grandson of Ram Chandra Ray, who was employed in some Government office under the Mahomedan Viceroy of Sátgáon. The former seat of the family was Raigarh, whence Pratápáditya removed to Jessore, so called from its having stripped Gaur of its glory. As the possessions of Pratápáditya principally lay at the mouths of the Ganges, he was styled the hero of the Sundarbans. Purchas describes him as the "king of Candecan." "Candecan" (Chandkhan) was probably the name of the pargana of which Jessore was the capital.

Pratáp's daughter was married to the young Raja Ram Chandra Ray of Chandradwip, while his son married into the noble house of Sripur. But, though he bore such close relations to those two renowned families, he was anything but friendly to them. He quarrelled with the chief of Sripur; and, as for his son-in-law the Raja of Chandradwip, he attempted to kill him for the sake of his vast estates, which he always viewed with a longing eye. Ram Chandra narrowly escaped from the trap which had been laid for him, and the natural consequence was that the son-in-law became a mortal enemy of the father-in-law. In this quarrel Ram Chandra's wife suffered the most. She lost the love of her husband, went to Kasi and died broken-hearted at that sacred city. While residing in the vicinity of Bakla, in anxious expectation of being taken back into the Chandradwip palace, she established a market at that place which still goes by the name of *Baothakurani's hát*.

Pratápáditya, as his name implies, was very powerful, and his forces were pretty considerable. He, it would seem, lived chiefly by piracy. Elated with pride, he defied the authority of the Emperor and stopped the payment of revenue. Steps were taken with a view to bringing him back to obedience, but all to no purpose, until in Jehangir's reign Man Singh, besieging him in his fort at Jessore, took him prisoner. Pratáp died at Benares while he was being taken to the Imperial presence. The capture of Jessore and the defeat of Pratápáditya formed the subject of Bhárat Chandra Ray's admirable poem called *Man Singh*.

Chand Rai was only second to Isa Khan in power in East Bengal. His ancestor, Nim Chand Rai, came from the North-West, and settled at Phulbaria in Bikrampur, which then lay on the west of the Ganges. Chand Rai was well versed in Persian and Arabic. His fame for learning having spread far and wide, he was sent for by the Emperor Humayun, who, being pleased with him, appointed him civil Judge (*Dewan Ahilkar*) of the Carnatic. He was the first *Bhúya* of Bikrampur, which title, it is said, was afterwards made hereditary in

the family by the reigning sovereign. Chand Rai, with all his learning, was, however, not a popular ruler. In fact, he ruled with an iron rod, and his oppressions were such that the author of the *Bhaktamāla* did not hesitate to condemn him as the chief of robbers.

When Chand Rai was only twenty years of age, he had a son born to him who was named Kedar. The father soon showed his great love for the infant by building a splendid house which he called Kedarbari. Kedar proved a worthy son, and he and Chand Rai were the Bhūyas of Bikrampur in the reign of Akbar. The two Rais had a very powerful rival in Isa Khan, whose principality lay on the other side of the river, and it was not unoften that they raided into each other's territories. In one of his successful incursions Isa Khan carried off Chand's only daughter, Sonamani, and married her.

The capital of Chand Rai was Sripur, which stood at the confluence of the Ganges (Kirtinásá) and the Megna, and was only three leagues distant from Isa's capital, Sonárgaon. Sripur was visited in 1586 by Fitch, who describes its king as "Chowdéry," and says that he, like some other lords, was in rebellion against the Great Mogul. Chand Rai's influence was confined to Bikrampur, within which he was the monarch of all he surveyed. The ravishment of his daughter by Isa Khan so worked upon his spirits that, entrusting his son Kedar with the management of his estates, he retired altogether from the world. Kedar proved an able ruler and added to his paternal possessions. Purchas states that he had acquired the important island of Sandwip, though he afterwards lost it to the Portuguese early in the seventeenth century. Like the father, the son, too, did not acknowledge the authority of the Mogul Viceroy.

Kedar was the head of the Kayastha community of Bikrampur. Both he and his father were *Saktas* in the worst sense of the term, and their bigotry was such that, not satisfied with sacrificing goats and buffaloes, they killed even cows and Brahmans. Their spiritual guide was Bhrahmanda Giri, who was said to have possessed the rare power of working miracles.

Fitch thus writes about Sripur: "From Bacola I went to Sreepore, which standeth upon the river Ganges; the king is called Chowdéry. They be all hereabout rebels against their king Zebeldin Akbar: for here are so many rivers and islands, that they flee from one to another, whereupon his horsemen cannot prevail against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here." Sripur has since disappeared in the river, leaving no trace behind.

Kedar Rai built, near Karticpur, a house which he named

Kedarbari after him ; and he also founded a city, Kedarpur, which appears as "Chedderpur" on Bronche's Map.

Kedar's works have all been washed away by the Ganges (Kirtinásá), except the "Rajabari Mot'h" and "Keshermar Dighi," both on the north side of that river.

The Chandradwip House comes next in importance. Bakla, of which Chandradwip is the classical name, was at one time a very large pargana and included almost the whole of the present district of Backargunge. It is mentioned in Todarmall's Settlement as one of the nineteen Sircars of Bengal. Akbar's General, Monaim Khan, having conquered Gaur, sent Murad Khan on the conquest of East and South Bengal. In 1574 Murad took Bakla, when Jagadananda Rai was the Raja. In 1585 it was overtaken by a storm-wave in which the Raja along with almost two hundred thousand people perished. The Venetian traveller, Cæsar Frederick, also suffered greatly in this calamitous visitation, while going from Pegu to Chittagong.

Jagadananda was succeeded by his son, Kandarpa Narayan, who obtained the title of Bhūya. Ralph Fitch visited Bakla in 1586, and thus describes it: "From Chatigaon in Bengal I came to Bacola, the king whereof is a gentile, a man very well disposed and delighted much to shoot with a gun. His country is very great and fruitful and hath store of rice, much cotton cloth and cloth of silk. The houses be very fair and high builded, the streets large and the people naked, except a little cloth about their waist. The women wear great store of silver hoops about their necks and arms, and their legs are ringed about with silver and copper, and rings made of elephants' teeth."

The original seat of the family was Kachua, close to the modern station of Barisal. Owing to the frequent incursions of the Mugs and the Portuguese, Kandarpa Narayan removed to a place called Madhabpasha, where the Rajas have resided ever since. Abul Fazl states that the Raja of Bakla used to supply 320 elephants and 15,000 infantry for the assistance of the Emperor. This fact is alone sufficient to show that the Raja was very powerful. Kandarpa Narayan died towards the close of the sixteenth century.

Ram Chandra was quite young when he succeeded his father Kandarpa Narayan. He had been married to the daughter of Pratapádityá of Jessore during his father's lifetime ; but the marriage, as we have already stated, proved anything but happy, and the two houses became inimical to each other. The Christian missionary, Fonseca, was in Bakla in the year 1600. He thus describes his interview with Ram Chandra, "The Raja's age is not more than eight years.

He received me with respect and cordiality, and granted me sanad for building a church in the Bakla Raj." From Bakla the good missionary went to Jessore. This appears from the fact that, on being asked by the Raja of Bakla what place he was bound for, he replied that he was going to pay a visit to his Highness's father-in-law, the king of Chandkhan. Du Jarik says that the king of Arracan subdued Bakla in 1602; but the conquest was not of a permanent character. Bakla soon came again into the hands of its king whom we find engaged in contending with Lachsman Manick of Bhullooah, whose estates lay on the other side of the Megna. These two neighbouring Rajas were often at feud. At last, Lachsman was taken prisoner to Chandradwip, where, in a fit of anger, he was murdered by Ram Chandra.

Ram Chandra died during Jehangir's reign, after Dacca had become the capital of Bengal.

In 1630 Sir Thomas Herbert describes "Bakal" (Bakla) as a flourishing city on the banks of the Ganges (Megna). In Bronche's Map also Bakla is noted down as a chief city, thereby showing that even in the latter half of the seventeenth century it had not lost its glory. Afterwards, it was plundered by Amar Manickya of Tipperah. Its present condition is simply deplorable, the once rich and powerful family being now reduced to very great straits.

Lachsman Manick was another of the Bhuyas. He was the lord of Bhullooah (Noakhali), which is situated on the east side of the Megna. The family of which Lachsman was the most distinguished member traced its origin to one Bissumbhar Rai, who first settled in Bhullooah. Lachsman was the seventh in descent from Bissumbhar. He was a contemporary of Kandarpa Narayan Rai whose principality lay on the other side of the river. After Kandarpa's death his minor son Ram Chandra became the Raja of Chandradwip. The Bhullooah Raja used to speak contemptuously of his young neighbour. This coming to the ears of Ram Chandra, he, with a body of armed followers, crossed the Megna in his war-vessels and anchored off Bhullooah. Lachsman, not suspecting any foul play, went on board to welcome Ram Chandra, unaccompanied by any guard. He was at once seized and carried off to Chandradwip, where he would have been immediately killed by his captor, but for the intercession of the Dowager-Queen, who warned her son against committing such a black deed. Lachsman was long kept in confinement. One day Ram Chandra, having gone to see him in the prison, was severely reprimanded by him for his perfidy and cruelty; and Ram Chandra, losing his self-control, ordered Lachsman to be put to death, which was accordingly done.

Lachsman possessed great power, which is best proved by the fact that, though his territories adjoined the dominions of the Raja of Tipperah, he was not molested by him nor pillaged by the Mugs and the Portuguese who committed ravages at the mouths of the Ganges during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The third son of Lachsman was Bejoy Manick, whom Dr. Wise identifies with the Bejoy Manick of Abul Fazl. It is very probable that about this time Bhullooah was annexed by the Raja of Tipperah to his dominions.

Mukunda Rai's title to Bhùyaship is not undisputed, but the probability is that he was one of the number, having Bhusnah for his principality. Towards the close of the thirteenth century the portion which adjoins the districts of Faridpur and Jessore on the south and east respectively came to be known as Bhusnah, a name which still lingers in a small village. The "Kali-Ganga," which since the close of the seventeenth century has ceased to be a flowing stream, passed by it. At one time Bhusnah was a flourishing city. In the fifteenth century it was the capital of one "Sangram Shah." The Afghans, however, could not hold sway over the territory for a long time. In the troublous times which followed the death of Daud they probably lost it to Mukunda Rai, who, it seems, possessed considerable influence in the neighbourhood. Munkunda had a very powerful neighbour in Pratápáditya; but there is nothing to show that he ever paid homage to him. Rivals they were and rivals they remained all their lives. It is said that a Mogul officer, being charmed with the beauty of a daughter of Mukunda, attacked Bhusnah and took possession of it; but he soon met his end at the hand of the fair princess. Chur Mukundia in Faridpur is the only relic left of the power and greatness of Mukunda Rai. The Madhumati river now waters the portion which was formerly called Bhusnah.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Sitáram Rai flourished in Mahmudpur, Abu Torab was the Fouzdar of Bhusnah. Sitáram killed Abu Torab and took Bhusnah. Upon this the great Nabob, Murshid Kuli Khan, sent a large army against the Raja of Mahmudpur, who was defeated and taken prisoner. Thus Bhusnah again became a part of the Mogul Empire.

That at one time Bhusnah was a noted place is evidenced by the *setal-pati*, stone-like earthenwares and sugarcane molasses which are still manufactured in this part of the country. The cotton of Bowalmári was much prized by the East India Company. In point of learning, however, Bhusnah cut a very sorry figure and "a Bangal of Bhusnah" is only a cant expression for a fool.

Most of the rent-free lands which are held by Brahman and Kayastha families in the vicinity of Bhusnah were granted either by Mukunda Rai or by Sitáram Rai.

The jungly tract which lies on the north of Dacca, extending towards the Garo Hills, was, in the sixteenth century, administered by a family known as Ghazi. The Ghazis traced their origin to one Palhawan Shah, who lived in the fourteenth century. His son, Karforma Sahib, who was a very holy man, having received as jagir Pargana Bhawal, settled at Chaurá, near Kaligunge on the Lukhia. The eighth in descent from Karforma Sahib was Fazal Ghazi (erroneously called Jona Ghazi by Rouse), who was one of the Bhúyas when the armies of Akbar entered Bengal.

According to tradition the principality ruled over by this family consisted principally of three parganas which are now known as Bhawál, Tálipábad, and Chánd Pratáp. Bhawál, which includes Capassia, the home of *carpas* (cotton), was ruled by Fazl Ghazi, the most celebrated member of the family: Talipábád was administered by Tala Ghazi, and Chánd Pratáp by Chánd Ghazi. Though Fazl Ghazi was the head, all these three Ghazis were independent of one another, and each assumed to himself the title of *Bhúya*. It would seem that there were three others of the family who, though possessed of comparatively small estates, did not hesitate to take upon themselves the high title of *Bhúya*. The Ghazis were defrauded of their property by their Hindu servants. The descendents of this once rich and powerful family now live upon a few acres of charity land. Such is the instability of human greatness!

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

ART. XI.—THE NECESSITY FOR SPECIAL TRAINING
OF SELECTED MISSIONARY STUDENTS.

(Independent Section.)

MY remarks apply solely to India, Further and Nearer, China, and the Extreme Orient. The simple, God-fearing, earnest, Missionary will, for another century, be sufficient to preach the Gospel among the uncultured races of Africa, Oceania, and North and South America, and in the wilder parts of India, China, and Japan ; a practical knowledge of Christ and His Gospel will be sufficient to those Missionaries who labour in the rural Districts.

We must remember in starting, that the great races of Eastern Asia are of no mean capacity : although the English found them to a certain extent fallen intellectually some eighty years ago, they are the heirs of a much older civilization than any nation in Europe or North America, and their ancestors have left a literature in many languages equal to that of the Greeks and the Romans. My primary interest in, and acquaintance with, India induces me to place these remarks on paper. The secular schoolmaster has been abroad with the usual result, that in the cities and places of education, among the cultured classes, analogous to those trained in European Universities, the younger generation has awakened as from a dream. There is unrest : "there is a sound of a going in the forest : " the various Sabhas, and Somajes, which are forming, indicate this. The Hindu knows that he has a grand past of many hundred centuries, upon which to look back. How will this movement end ? With the men of this generation from the West the issue will rest.

I have for more than half a century studied the religions, and languages, of India, living among the people, speaking several of their languages as my own, and frequenting their places of worship. I have also studied their religious books, and secular literature. For more than twenty centuries they have inhabited the same regions, have erected gigantic monuments, founded mighty kingdoms, written wondrous volumes in prose and verse, and are still in the same country, while the dwellers in the Nile-Valley and Mesopotamia have long fallen from their greatness and been forgotten, and the little tribe of the Hebrews, of which there has been so much talk in Mediæval Europe, never had any greatness to fall from. The new Missionary must lay aside insular and egotistic ideas of the great races of the Orient being savages, or even barbarians ; they may indeed wonder how it has happened

that, under the Divine Dispensation, no Apostle or Prophet ever visited them, though so long as we believe that God loved the *whole* world, hated nothing that He had made, and would not that any one should perish, we can only be silent and wonder why these great and noble races had never until this century the chance of being converted. The instructed Missionary should banish from his mind all feeling of contempt and hatred, and consider the problem how, after so many years of torpor, the cultured members of these races are asking, What is the Truth? and How is a man to be saved after death?

The Missionary is supposed to have acquired, or to be in the way of acquiring, the vernacular of the people: he must now study their religious and social customs, not from the prejudiced books of narrow-minded writers of the last generation, but from the full accounts now available, and the books themselves. If he knew Latin and Greek at school, he will find no difficulty in acquiring Sanskrit and Arabic at college, and will be thankful in after life to have done so: but translations of the Sacred Books supply to the younger generation that knowledge which their predecessors had to work out in the original, or to live on in ignorance.

The object to which the Missionary has devoted his life, is to convert souls to a belief in Christ Jesus, and to obedience to His precepts. Let him satisfy himself by reading these excellent books written on the subject, that that form of religion known as Christian is not only the best, very best, because it happens to be the religion of *his own particular* country and people, for this is merely prejudice, and the Hindu and Mahometan think the same with regard to their own form of belief; but it is the best, the very best, because, after a careful examination of the religious tenets of all the book-religions of the world, the calm and unprejudiced judgment comes to the conviction that it is the only one that meets the *wants of the whole Human Race*. Christ Jesus came, in the fulness of time, at a period in human History, when the portion of mankind whom He addressed, were no longer barbarians or, lower still, savages. He came to a world which had past experience of many forms of religious belief. There were the Nature-Worships, or, as they are called scientifically, 'Animistic Conceptions'; the great Book-Religions with hereditary Priesthoods; and in some cases the curse of extreme intolerance, lending itself to the bitter persecution of those who could not agree.

Let me illustrate my meaning by a story well known in my youth. A Scotch Missionary of great power and faith allowed himself to utter words to this effect to an assembly of Indian

people : " You are an ignorant degraded people, and you do not know what you worship : the form of religion which I bring to you is that which is accepted by all the learned and wise people of Europe, and, if you are well advised, you will accept it." I myself heard a Missionary of a few years' experience tell a crowd in the streets, that " their gods were only dung, the dung of the streets." How different was the mode adopted by Paul the Apostle in addressing the people of Athens ! What an ignorance did these English Missionaries show of the secret fibres which wind round the human heart, and bind it to the religion of former generations ! A humble-minded Hindu would admit, " it is possible that my form of religion is not the best, but I learned it at the feet of my parents and grandparents." Let no words of abuse of the form of religion of ancient races pass the lips of the true servant of God : reserve abuse for moral lapses, and heinous sins, and when such lapses and sins are intertwined with an ancient religion, be pitiful and merciful. Nothing but the action of the Holy Spirit can work a conversion of the soul.

I pass under review the subjects on which the selected Missionary should be instructed by courses of lectures or private reading.

ANCIENT RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD STILL LIVING REPRESENTED BY SACRED BOOKS.

- I. Brahmanism.
- II. Zoroastrianism.
- III. Judaism.
- IV. Buddhism.
- V. Jainism.
- VI. Confucianism.
- VII. Taouism.
- VIII. Shintoism.

On all these forms of worship or dogma there are available excellent manuals. Of course a Missionary's particular region for his life-labour is selected for him by the Parent Committee, and this will include only a certain number of the religious conceptions entered in this list. Of these, Buddhism and Confucianism are practically atheistical, and to Buddhism must be conceded the honour of being the first Universal Religion of the human race. All others were restricted to a particular race or country. It is strange that Judaism should not have expanded, but the Jews never, in past, or present, times sent out Missionaries for the purpose of conveying knowledge on spiritual things to their neighbours : they cared only for themselves.

The doom is written on every one of these ancient religious conceptions : they belonged to another epoch of the human race ; they have lost whatever spiritual vitality they may have had centuries ago, and are mere empty forms. But in their place all over Asia are springing up new forms of religious conceptions, with which the Missionary student must make himself acquainted. There are two categories :

The old religious conceptions purified, refined, and adapted to the environment of a civilized society.

- I. Islam, with its latest Evolution, Bábism.
- II. Neo-Judaism.
- III. Neo-Hinduism.
- IV. Neo-Zoroastrianism.
- V. Neo-Buddhism.
- VI. Neo-Confucianism.

None of these are precisely in the same state in which they were before they came into contact with European culture, but they are essentially conceptions built on old conceptions belonging to an earlier period of the human race. The contact with Europe has saved them from the fate of the older religions of the world which I now enumerate :

- I. Egyptian.
- II. Babylonian.
- III. Assyrian.
- IV. Greco-Roman.
- V. Teutonic, Keltic, Slavonic.
- VI. Etruscan.
- VII. Old Semitic.

The thoughtful Missionary, who recognizes the solemn importance, and overwhelming difficulty, of the conversion of souls, which is his life's object, may find serious room for reflection when he examines the lists supplied of extinct religious conceptions, and reformed religious conceptions, showing unmistakably that there is evolution of the human intellect, which has to be dealt with ; but what will he think when he examines the list of modern religious conceptions, the creatures of the Nineteenth Century ? I give them below :

- I. Mormonism.
- II. Theosophy.
- III. Hau Hau, Te Kooti, Tu Whiti, of New Zealand.
- IV. Brahmoism.
- V. Positivism, or Comteism, the Religion of Humanity.
- VI. Agnosticism.
- VII. Unitarianism.
- VIII. Theism.

The relation of the soul of man to God is one of the deepest interest, and ever must be, and a vast series of phenomena have developed themselves since history began. The enlightened Missionary has to consider this, and despise no fellow-creature for feeling after God, if haply he can find Him, for unless the Gospel-Message, as delivered by Christ in His short sojourn of three years, is accepted *ex animo*, the poor foolish human race must grope on in darkness, or go after some shadow, or fall into some such delusion as is represented in the last list of modern religious conceptions. It will not escape notice that these are accompanied by the highest morality, and as a rule the fact of the "Silence of God" since His Son appeared in the world in the form of man has never received attention. No pretences are held out now of miracles, prophecy, augury, theophanies, Divine voices, visions, dreams, Angels, or messages from the dead, thunder and lightning, and comets. This change indicates a prodigious advance in the religious Idea; and betwixt the date of the appearance of Jesus Christ and the preceding ages there is a vast gulf, marking an epoch in the annals of the human race.

We must recollect that the Godless State-Colleges of British India, which are a necessity of our political position in that country, make a clean sweep of the religious idea in any form, though not in any degree of the morality which is the outcome of the more elevated forms of religion. The late Archbishop of Canterbury once remarked in my hearing at a great religious gathering, that we should take heed not to drive the conception of the supernatural out of the young of any non-Christian people before we were ready to plant a substitute in the place of the old and worn-out and imperfect conceptions. Hundreds of young men annually leave the State-College with their intellect as entirely swept clean of the supernatural as cold History, stern Logic, and Physical Science, can make it.

Clever young men, pious middle-aged men, holy and reverend old men, stand up and make the most astounding statements in favour of some of the new religious conceptions, sometimes in the English, sometimes in the Native Languages, neither violent, nor abusive, nor immoral, and there are not wanting English women who feel themselves called upon to do the same. They use no hard words, nor make use of the familiar expressions of "teaching of Satan," etc., etc.; for, the age of miracles being past, it is a matter of pure reason, and we require Christian champions trained for such contests, full of faith, uttering words of wisdom, of reason, of love, and pity.

The English may lose India, but it does not follow that, in consequence of a political change, the people of India should lose Christ, if only we give timely freedom and independence to the Native Churches, and set the old Native pastors free from the control of the young white Missionary fresh from Europe. It may be a dream, but, looking forward into the Twentieth Century, I seem with the eye of faith to see, studying in one of the State-Colleges in British India, a lad reserved to make a mark in the Christian Church of India.

“Non sine Diis animosus infans.”

Sanctified, like Jeremiah, to be a Prophet unto the Nations, he will be learned in all the accumulated wisdom of his Hindu forefathers, their wealth of ritual, philosophy and poetry; their feeling after God during the course of many centuries, if haply they could find Him; their tangled maze of Divine Incarnations, to save mankind; their mystical Triads, their doctrine of judgment after death, and salvation by the power of a Saviour through the great instrument of Bhakti, or Faith; their sense of the great delusion, or Máya, which occupied all human affairs; their mystery of Metempsychosis, or Second Birth; their aspirations after holiness: their dream of a remote and dim future when all would be absorbed in one great Essence.

By the aid of those excellent Missionary Associations which send out qualified men to grapple with the educated classes, as they leave the State-Colleges, this coming man will have studied the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures in their original languages, and made them his own; and have compared with the originals the Translations into five or six vernaculars of British India, spoken by millions, and into Sanskrit itself: he would not in his studies have made use of the spectacles of European mediæval prescription, but he would have absorbed into his intellect and conscience the *ipsissima verba* of Him who spake like no other man; and he would have pored over the wise, though human, utterances of Paul, who knew nothing of his Master's earthly pilgrimage, and of John the beloved, who accompanied Him from Jordan to the Cross and Mount Olivet.

He will have heard nothing of all the folly and wickedness of the Romish Church from Damascus to Leo X, and would wipe gently off the slate of history, in sympathy and pity, all the inconsistencies of German, Anglican, and Swiss Reformers, who could not get clear of the meshes of past ages, and who knew nothing of the world beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, and its Keltic and Teutonic Colonies.

The world is now opened geographically, intellectually, and spiritually, and we know that there were great men, through

whose mouths a power beyond that of men had spoken in sundry times and divers manners before Moses. The Father of Mankind did not forget any of His poor children during those dreary centuries: He would not that any one should perish, for He so loved the world, *the whole* world, that in the fulness of time He sent His Son to redeem them. Paul unmistakably felt this in his address at Athens and Lystra, but for him Buddha, and Kong-Fu-Tsee, and Zoroaster, and Socrates, and Plato, had lived, and given forth their immortal utterances in vain, and added nothing to his sum of human knowledge, which was that of a Pharisee and a Pharisee only.

But the youth whom we figure to our eye as holding the great fort of Divine and human knowledge in the Twentieth Century, will, in his armed intellectual strength, based on Oriental as well as Occidental knowledge, have passed beyond the miserable limitations of the Schools of the Asiatic and European Brahmins; will have marked how the great lines of spiritual thought, after wandering through those ages, had converged and settled in the Christian conception, as given in the Gospels, and illustrated in the Epistles. Unassisted human wisdom could create nothing equal to, or desire anything better than, what was there propounded.

To his enlightened vision the resemblance will be evident, though historically and intellectually entirely independent, betwixt the Tablet of Asôka, the Noble Way of Buddha, the precepts of Kong-Fu-Tsee, and the Sermon on the Mount, inasmuch as they are all based on Altruism as opposed to Egoism, and on unbounded love to our fellow-creatures, and to the Creator no longer unknown.

So also (I speak with reverence, and with bare feet standing on holy ground) he will ask whether, and why, his own great race, counting by millions, were left since the earliest centuries out of touch with their Creator, who hated nothing that He had made. He will find a new meaning in the celebrated Hindu book, the "Ocean of Love," or Prema Sâgara, where he identifies the word with the Greek word Ἀγάπη of Paul. He will cease to wonder at the Sanskrit myth of the Avatâra, or Incarnation of the Supreme Deity, Krishna, becoming the object of love to thousands, while each individual imagined that he or she was the sole beloved of the Deity. In the wonderful Bhakti, or Faith, which was felt in that person of the Triad called the Preserver (*Salvator*), he will realize the meaning given by Paul to Πίστις, Faith in One who could save beyond the grave.

Is it too much to believe that, as there has been a Greek and Latin and Teutonic Christianity, agreeing in essentials, differing in details, so there shall come into existence an Oriental

Christianity, and Oriental Theology? This idea has been suggested by high authority. Our youth, a Hindu, can proudly look back to centuries during which he had remained the same even to this day. Two thousand years ago pious Chinese Buddhists crossed the frontier to visit India, and collect documents connected with Buddha: even then the Hindu conception had given off a branch, which developed into Buddhism, the most numerous in the world, while the Hindu temples and worship remained unchanged. Centuries later Islam had invaded India, and held it in subjection for centuries, but there was no change of the great Brahmanical conception, into the folds of which thousands of the non-Arian Pagans voluntarily enter, as a great step up in the world of culture and civilization. Can it be, he would ask himself, that this mighty phenomenon of a religious conception, lasting thousands of years, came into existence *without the Divine Will and Permission*? He finds in History that the conceptions of Zoroaster and Kong-Fu-Tsee go back to the same remote period, and are still alive. But he hears that the ancient Egyptian conception, with its Isis and Osiris, had disappeared two thousand years ago, and its sacred books had vanished from human handling, and contact with human intellect. He hears that the ancient conceptions of Mesopotamia had also totally disappeared under the soil, while the great Brahmanical conception, strengthened rather than weakened by its sects, still numbered two hundred millions. He reads the burning lines in the "Bhágavad Gita," in which Krishna reveals to Arjuna great mysteries in majestic and harmonious verse. He ponders over the contents of the wondrous "Ramáyana," which tells of a Prince who abandoned a throne to please his father, and enable him to keep his oath; who went into the wilderness alone, except with his faithful wife, to contend against the enemies of the human race, and save mankind. He is described as pure, holy, chaste, with the great gift of self-sacrifice in the cause of duty; and year by year the great story is acted, as an undying pageant, in every large Indian town, amidst smiling and weeping crowds.

All these wonderful Sacred Books and Sacred Poems have survived the wreck of ages, and are available to us in our language, and to the educated classes of India in their languages: they are dimly known now, but in the Twentieth Century, an epoch of enlightenment, and education, Public Press, and meeting together of Natives, they will be taught in the Schools, and talked over in the market-place: it cannot be but that a new Socrates, a new Paul, a new Hypatia, will appear, and the humble and impartial observer will recognize the presence of God in all the ages, at some periods unseen,

at others only dimly seen, or seen through false intellectual lenses, but in these last days seen through His Son, when the great Plan of Universal Salvation was worked out.

The ordinary Missionary, unless he wishes to remain a dumb dog, acquires the vernacular or vulgar dialect of the people. I have often listened to sermons in the Native language, and no member of the European community equals the Missionary in command of the vernaculars, though I have, to my disgust, met dumb dogs after a residence of several years. It may be broadly stated that any language in the world can be mastered for speaking purposes, where too much grammatical rigour is not required, in twelve months. I speak from experience, and such extent of knowledge by no means indicates a scholar, but a competent Evangelist *as far as speaking goes*. But something more is required of the trained Missionary, whose ideal I have before me : he must have some fundamental idea of linguistics in general, and some detailed idea of the languages of his particular region, the characteristics of their family, the mechanism of their structure, and the written characters adopted. The Specimen-Volume published by the British and Foreign Bible-Society annually will supply that amount of knowledge, but of certain languages he must know more, and command a knowledge of indigenous literature. He may not be gifted with the art of writing, or contributing to publications, but he must be, if not a scholar himself, a scholarly man. If he is acquainted with the literary treasures of the Hindu nation, his words will carry more weight in argument. There is no lack of wisdom and holy thoughts in those Sacred Books of the Hindu, and the Hindu Sects, the Jain and the Buddhist.

Think of the crass stupid ignorance of the Keltic savage, the Briton, when Julius Cæsar, about the date of the Christian era, invaded Britain. Think of the dense fog obscuring the intellect of the noble barbarians who invaded England from Scandinavia, and the very scant knowledge of the Norman-French conquerors, and compare the state of affairs in England then with the colossal literature of the Hindu people, and their culture and knowledge, and the grandeur of their buildings ; and yet the ordinary narrow-minded Missionary, fresh from his Chapel, or Conventicle, or Church, with his Shibboleth of Predestination, or Prayers for the Dead, or Ritual worship, according to the brush with which in his youth his Christianity has been tarred, talks contemptuously and insultingly of this great Nation, which by the will of the Creator has for so many centuries *lived without the possibility of being Christian*, because those who had the light, did not until this century care to carry the light to millions sitting in darkness, and thus fulfil

the Lord's parting command. The fault is imputed to the Indian which belongs properly to the European; and even when he does preach the Gospel, it is so mixed up with human, national, and occidental, accretions, that all that the Hindu wants, "Let us see Christ and hear His words," is forgotten amidst the the confusion of forms, and ceremonies, and days and weeks, and white surplices and black gowns, and the essence of the Message is lost or obscured.

Another branch of knowledge, to which I would invite the attention of the selected Missionary, is the study of the customs of the people. As it is now, it is a case of "Damnan, quod non intelligunt." Such ancient institutions as Caste, Polygamy, marriage in childhood, and others, which shock the narrow-minded denizen of a Scotch or English market-town, are not without a cause for their existence and some compensatory advantage; at any rate, the Hebrews, who are considered the pattern of all excellence, practised all three, in addition to to circumcision, than which, as a test of Religion, nothing can be more degrading. Our special good fortune is, that in the Religion of Christ we have the perfection of all wisdom, suitable to every time, every clime, every degree of human culture, and every bad custom insensibly disappears under its influence.

A fuller knowledge of the ancient religions of the world, as illustrated by their Sacred Books, to those who study them deeply, will be the opening of a new world: it is only the grossly ignorant who stoop to abuse. Plato, and Gautama Buddha, Zoroaster and Kong-Fu-Tsee, and the Hindu Sages, were men of exalted intellect, to whom all subsequent ages bow with respect: they would have rejoiced to see the fulness of time, if they had been permitted, but they were forerunners in point of time of the great *Λόγος* and, when carefully studied, many of their sentiments gave evidence of pure holy thought, on the human side at least.

It is of no use denying it, that systematic intolerance, and merciless persecution, were the outcomes of the Christian religion, as it settled itself in the Roman Empire, with the establishment of sacerdotalism. The old Greco-Roman superstition, the conceptions of Buddha, of Zoroaster, and the Hindu, were free from it; if left alone themselves, they would leave others alone. Islam followed the example of Roman Christianity, and even now there is always a danger of good, pious people, who are *quite sure, that they are in the right, and all the rest of the world wrong*, using the arm of the Flesh to carry out their own views. The highly instructed Missionary, who has followed the course of history, and understands the problem of the relation of the Soul to God, will see the folly and wickedness of such a policy.

Besides, the great Creator tolerated the existence of these gross substitutes for true religion for centuries. By a mere expression of His Will He might have destroyed the Nations, or breathed into their souls a right judgment in the manner of His worship. But in His infinite longsuffering He waited until the appointed time came. Are we to be less merciful than God? Let us tarry the Lord's leisure, and ponder His unfathomable Wisdom in our hearts. He would that all men should know Him; let us at least do our duty, which is quite clear; now is our appointed time. *Sursum corda!* We have to consider the great mystery. The law given by Moses failed to retain the hearts of even the Hebrews, who never attempted to seek out the great races lying in darkness since the Creation of mankind, and yet holy men of all times and climes have sought after God to the extent of their poor limited faculties, and found Him not. And later on if, led by the Holy Spirit, they dared to make a choice (*αἵρεσις*) for themselves, they were called *σινετικοί* and put to death as 'heretics.'

But in India there will be a problem to which we have no parallel in past ages and other countries. According to the official Census, there are between thirty and forty varieties of religious sects of the same central Christian Religion, and we may expect that, as different Tribes and Castes come under the influence of the new doctrines, there will be additional streaks of difference. While, on the one hand, one central all-inclusive body corporate is neither possible nor desirable, too great a multiplicity of sections is deplorable. Under the new phenomena of Higher and Lower Criticism there is no longer one and the same Bible to all the different sections; in fact, the views on the structure of the Bible will be an additional cause of disintegration of the Christian body. If those to whom the duty falls of conveying the new doctrines from the West, are wise, they will consider the expediency of dividing what they teach into essentials and non-essentials. The different sections will thus in general society and meetings be drawn together by the great Central Truths which all hold, and be tolerant to each other in matters of ritual, forms, and terminology, in which they differ. Among all Protestants in India this is the practice in their Missionary Congresses, and there is no open war. If individual Natives, or clans of Natives, migrate spontaneously from one section to another, for the sake of peace it must be tolerated. The secular Civil Government recognizes no State-Church.

Another subject worthy of special study by superior men is the "Future of the Church of Christ" in India, both while that country remains under British authority, and after it has passed into the Empire of Russia, or any other European or Asiatic

potentate, or after the Peninsula of India, now consolidated as one Nation, has been broken up in separate kingdoms. Hitherto we have treated India as a kind of appanage of the Protestant Churches of England: if such policy is continued, the Christian Church will pass away with the possible disappearance of the British Empire. The Christian Churches of Western Asia and North Africa have lasted on, with their lamp still burning, under every kind of mundane control, the Armenian, Georgian, Syrian, Abyssinian, Koptic, etc. The only chance of survival is a religious independence, which must be introduced gradually: the subsidies from Europe must cease, and the Occidental vestments, forms of prayer, ritual, etc., give way to the Oriental.

No such problem has history recorded as that which lies before the Christian Church in British India, Further and Nearer, and Ceylon. The religions of the ancient world, Egyptian, Assyrian, quitely disappeared with the races which had devised them and believed in them. The beautiful Greco-Roman Idea could not live up to the advance of the human intellect, so it was played out, and there was no younger race to pick up the great truths concealed in the false surroundings, and give them new life.

The Buddhist religious conception sprang out of the decadence of the Brahmanical conception, and gave out the first Idea of a universal conception, which all mankind could embrace, and were invited by Missionaries to do so. This was something very different from the Non-Aryan races of India passing gradually into lower castes of their Aryan Brahmanical neighbours. The Buddhist conception, like its predecessor the Brahmanical, knew nothing of the curse of intolerance, persecution, and the arm of the Flesh. In the fulness of God's time came the universal conception of Christianity: Universal but in its early-centuries most intolerant. We have now before us in British India a new conjunction of circumstances: a strong Civil Government; absolute tolerance; forward march of education and culture; contact with other nations; increasing population; spread of manufactures and commerce. So much for things of this world. Add to this that it has pleased the Lord, after eighteen centuries of disobedience and torpor, to arouse in the hearts of the great races in the extreme West a sense of their duty, their paramount duty, to carry the Gospel of Christ to Oriental nations, and has given them power, physical and spiritual, to discharge that duty.

The superior class of Missionaries whom I desire to call into existence, must consider this problem and the best methods of solving it. My own generation, into whose hands the task of the administration, Civil and Military, of these vast populations

has fallen, have thought out one problem, and have conceived and put into practice during the Nineteenth Century methods of ruling great Provinces kindly yet firmly, "with the iron hand in the velvet glove," and have achieved a success unparalleled in the annals of any previous Century. What is required of the master mind of the new Missionary is to dip into the future, and think out the problem of Christ's Church during Twentieth Century. If the army of Christ has been enlarged, the army of Anti-Christ has come into existence, and has to be dealt with. Civilization and education without Christ is not a blessing, but a curse. The Civil Power stands aside, and rightly so, for Christ's Kingdom is not of this world : it keeps the lists open, gives a fair field to all comers, and shows no favour or prejudice.

And the agents in this Holy War must make a covenant with their souls to abstain from proud thoughts of the superiority of the ordinary white man to the Indians moving in the same rank of life as themselves, and to abstain from abuse. It is as unjust to form an idea of the religion of a great nation from the sentiments expressed by the lowest classes of the rural population, or the scum of the great cities, as it would be for a Japanese to describe the Christianity of London from the idea formed of it in Whitechapel, or the East India Docks.

Religion has to do :

- I. With the Intellect, in the way of Ideas conceived and expressed on secular subjects.
- II. With the Heart, in the way of sentiments of Love towards the Creator and his fellow-creatures, and emotions of Gratitude.
- III. With the Soul, in the way of thought, word, and deed, according to an unwritten Code called Morality.

I have lived months and years alone amidst my non-Christian Indian subjects and recognize their sterling merits, their great intellectual capacity, their gentle and polished manners, and sense of morality.

And there is one qualification of all Missionaries, as of all public servants of the State, Civil and Military, which is indispensable up to the age of thirty, and longer if possible : this is celibacy. The present state of affairs is scandalous : the Missionary in his youth, with a large family of children, who ought never to have been born, and a burden on the funds of the Parent Society—and I could say further, but forbear : it is not the unmarried Missionaries who have caused a scandal in certain Missions, but young widowers. Let them read what the Apostle Paul tells them.

We have to thank the late Archbishop of Canterbury for the phrase and idea of the "Philosophy of Missions." It is not sufficient to obtain a general knowledge of the round of work in the Mission field, but a real knowledge of the principles which underly the great spiritual movement which derives its motive-power from the Holy Spirit. There is admitted to be a philosophy in History, but the great spiritual movement of the Nineteenth Century is, indeed, a great, the greatest of philosophies. It comprehends the science of conveying an exalted form of religion by the use of language, and discusses the methods, points out the stumbling-blocks, shows the reason why, rebuts the objections and builds up experience and wisdom on the foundation both of past success and past failures. The ordinary Missionary has it not, any more than the Regimental subaltern has the power of the great strategist and tactician, and it is no discredit to him not to have it, for he has other gifts ; but the selected men who are brought under notice in this essay, form the Staff-Corps, as it may be called, and their services are required to direct the movement of the Twentieth Century. The Gospel-Message, as delivered by Christ, was intended for all climes, all times, all degrees of human culture, and must not be presented to an Oriental community in all the unknown, misunderstood paraphernalia of an Occidental Church.

Now suppose that the Light which, in the reign of the Roman Emperor Tiberius, lightened the Gentiles in Galilee, and commenced a new era in the history of mankind, had spread Eastward, as it might have been expected to do, among the Semitic races of Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and the Far East, while the Aryan races, Kelts, Teutons, Slavs, and Greco-Roman, had grown up into their present high state of culture under the old forms of religious conceptions,—when suddenly, after the lapse of eighteen Centuries, it occurred to some good pious souls in India, or China, or Japan, to send Christian Missionaries to convert those desperate Heathen who occupied Europe and North America. Well and good ! their purpose was laudable, and, if we had been left without Christ, grateful we should have been to hear the Gospel-Message, and ready to form ourselves into religious communities ; but why should the Chinese Missionary force upon us a pigtail form of Christianity, or the Indian make caste and abstinence from certain foods an essential feature of a devout life ? Why not give us the real thing, as described in the pages of the New Testament, which they would have translated into our barbarous dialects, and presented to our wondering eyes ? Recognizing the new Gospel as purely spiritual, we should be glad to make it part

and parcel of our National civilization, customs, and ideas : it was intended for all nations, in every stage of culture and progress.

The late Bishop of Japan, at a meeting in London of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, laid down distinctly that there were only four things which the young Church of Japan could share with the Church of England :

- I. The Doctrine of the Trinity.
- II. The two Sacraments.
- III. The Inspiration of the Scriptures.
- IV. Episcopacy.

Perhaps this last may be withdrawn. I am an Episcopalian, and from my knowledge of Oriental Countries believe that nothing of a republican form will work there, and that a chief shepherd is a necessity of good administration Ecclesiastic, as a Governor is of good administration Civil ; yet I cannot place the institution of Bishops, leastways Prelates, among the necessities of the Christian Dispensation. At any rate, the concession made by the late Bishop marks the era of a new departure. If Episcopacy be retained, they must be Native Bishops ; but what will follow ? I am about to tread on delicate ground.

It is not the Church with the longest pedigree of high-sounding names, and self-asserting Priests, but the Church with the purest record, which will produce the true wheat, fit to be scattered in the wide fields of the world. Churches of the far West, look to your own history in past ages, and your present state in the end of the Nineteenth Century. It is the stain of Judaism, Paganism, and Mediæval blindness, which still clings to the Churches of Europe and North America, and renders them uncongenial to Oriental races. Let them keep these customs in their own Churches if they like, say the Japanese, but why force them on us, as if they were Bible-Truths and applied to all times and climes, as part and parcel of the Christian Dispensation, which came to the human race in an Oriental garb in simplicity and purity, as evidenced by the pages of the New Testament. We must in very deed clear our ship of its superfluities before we can expect a welcome in the Extreme Orient. What will these awakening Races say of observances of Days and Weeks, peremptorily forbidden in Scripture, but still inculcated ; names and appellations which mean nothing, but which are still made much of ; Sabbaths not made for man, but man for the Sabbath ; abstention from God's good gifts, instead of temperate use of them ; bloody banners suspended in Churches as records of carnage by Christian men ; thanks rendered to God for wholesale annexation of the country of another people, and bloody victories ;

lust of money and profitable commerce enforced at the mouth of the cannon ; and at the same time the doctrines of Christ preached by Missionaries, Love, Peace, Forgiveness of Enemies, content with a little, etc. What can the Oriental races, with the New Testament in their hands, think of the Christians of Europe ?

I heard a Missionary, on his return home from the field, give an account of his work to his Parent Society : nothing but charges of ignorance, and abuse of the notions of the poor races in a low state of culture. I could not help thinking that such an actual state of Godless ignorance, in which the great Creator had for His own wise purposes left these His poor barbarian children, was better than the state of pretentious knowledge of races in a higher round of culture. The relation of the soul of man to God should be thought of with pity and respect : these poor people could not help being what they were. In the Sacred Books of the Non-Christian World, which are now accessible to all who care to read them, we meet with conceptions of God, His Greatness, Goodness, Holiness, Wisdom, and Power, in words which might be appropriated by a Christian Teacher. We find expressions of Faith (Bhakti), Penitence, and Hope, that might seem to be borrowed from Christian works. We come upon teaching with regard to life and duty which may be equalled, but not surpassed. And why ? "Every good gift, every perfect gift, is from on High." The Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters : He suffered their ignorance for a season, but He sent men like Plato, called by Augustine of Hippo the "Apostle of the Gentiles," Gautama Buddha, Zoroaster, Kong-Fu-Tsee, and the Hindu Sages, and permitted their words to escape destruction, and survive to our age. He did not leave himself throughout the ages without a witness.

Can the Hindu at any stage of his intellectual existence get rid of the two ideas, which seem to underly his belief in anything : 'Máya' and 'Metempsychosis' ? By the one all things in this world are a mere deception to the eye, and non-existent. By the other the soul passes on after death from one body to another, adding to, or reducing, the sum of its Karma. Will not the Hindu be tempted to introduce into his view of Christianity some of the great national facts of his own History, and assimilate them, such as the Avatára of human beings, incarnations of God sent to benefit mankind, and the succession of Triads or Trinities in the Brahmanical Pantheon. As an instance of this tendency, I have a very learned lecture on my table written by a dear departed Hindu Christian friend, in which he maintains that the story of Prajapati is a type of the Mediatorial Sacrifice of Christ. All European Christians will

of course resent, and decline to accept, such analogies. To them Jesus Christ is the completion and fulfilment of the Mosaic Law. No early Christians would have presumed to quote a Story of Osiris in Egyptian Mythology as an analogue or type of Christ's mediatorial work, though there is an obvious resemblance.

Is there not a corresponding danger on the other side. It cannot be expected that the great nations of Eastern Asia will condescend to bow to the extremely minute tribe of the Hebrews, who were a mere drop in the broad river of Asiatic nations, which the Western Nations have somehow or other contrived to make the basis of their Religion. To the Hebrew mankind owes nothing in the way of Art, or science, or culture: its only claim is the Old Testament, and the fact that Jesus Christ was born of a Hebrew Virgin. Then, again, they will admit, if they pretend to be Christians in more than name, the inspiration of the writers of the Old and New Testaments, the impregnable foundations of our Faith, but will not their belief end there? They will read that imperfectly instructed Priests of Christianity laid down, in the third century after Christ, certain doctrines of the most important character, not without opposition of a minority, but with some show of force of the arm of the flesh on the part of the majority. They must feel, as all feel, that in the course of ages the human intellect grows clearer and human ideas grow wider. We have given to the Hindu physical science, based upon actual proof, with one hand, and with the other, dogma, the decision of men, who believed that the sun went round the earth, which was a dead flat. The philosophy of ecclesiastics has from time immemorial been at war with the actual proofs of the scientist.

While, on the one hand, it is exceedingly unwise on the part of Europeans to introduce the forms of Western architecture into the places of worship of the Indian Churches, as being too expensive, and unsuited to the climate, it would be deplorable to see the Hindu Temple, or Mahometan Mosque, turned into a place of Christian worship, but inevitable. But above all things, the introduction of ecclesiastical ornaments, pictures, and statuary, are to be deprecated, as also vestments of the Ministers. An Oxford Professor lately visited India, and in a Roman Catholic Chapel was shown a statue of the Virgin and Child, by a Native Artist, the execution of which was worthy of commendation. In the adjoining street he found the same statue erected to represent Devaki and Krishna in a Hindu Temple. Then, again, the vain repetition in the order of Service in some Christian Churches, and the musical performances, are equalled, if not parodied, in the places of non-

Christian Worship. In matters connected with Religion, good and wise men seem to lose all sense of propriety, and do and tolerate things in matters ecclesiastical which their common-sense would reject as impossible in the affairs of ordinary life. There is extreme danger in such practices in a great country like India, in the period of its passing through a great change of opinion upon important subjects.

The selection of portions of the Old Testament to be read in places of worship, and the teaching of the same in Schools, is a subject, which has been brought to notice by a great and respected religious organ, *The Guardian*, and the contribution printed is from the pen of the Head Master of a great English School. Now if this subject is of importance in England, how much more must it be in India? All who think at all, must feel the difficulty, especially those who have to give instruction in the Old Testament. Is it wise or prudent to ignore all that physical science, and knowledge of history, geography, and archæology, have done for the interpretation of the Scriptures? A Chinaman lately in the Bible House in London protested against the circulation among his countrymen of such stories as that of Lot and his daughters. Is not the time come to circulate among Natives or Oriental countries selections from the Old Testament, and never to read aloud in places of public worship such narratives as decent people could not with propriety read aloud in their own family circles?

I have discharged my task, and placed on paper the results of the experience of more than half a century. Supporters of Missions have been in the Nineteenth Century content with a surface-knowledge of the difficulties of the great enterprise: they have not thought out the problem of the introduction of the Christian religion among the great nations of the East, and have been totally ignorant of the great religions of the Ancient World. It is not so now. I address those whose work lies before them in the Twentieth Century, who will have to deal with Native Churches of several denominations, not with individuals converted from non-Christian religious conceptions.

It has always been a delight to me to make myself acquainted with the mode in which God is worshipped by His poor creatures, and by reading and study to find out the nature of the relation of the souls of particular tribes and nations to their great Creator. I have a firm belief that there is nothing better in itself than Christianity, and that in the end it must triumph, not by the arm of the flesh, but by its own superior suitabilities to the wants of mankind. It is not the merits of any particular section of Christianity that we are discussing, but of the great central doctrines promulgated in Palestine

in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius, as recorded in the New Testament. I have often discussed the subject with valued friends of the different Churches of Europe and North America, whether Greek, Romish, Protestant, or Members of the smaller Asiatic and North African Churches; and have had ample opportunities of interesting conversation with Mahometans, Parsis, Hindus, and Buddhists. With the Chinese and Japanese I have not come into contact : my knowledge of them depends on books alone. But I have had the privilege also of intimate acquaintance with holy native converts in India and Africa, not always wise in things of this world, and have heard their opinion of the great problem upon which I have here attempted feebly to dwell.

ROBERT N. CUST.

LONDON, *March* 15, 1900.

ART. XII.—THE BANTS OF THE TULU NAD.

TEL sol, tel produit. This has long since been established as a scientific truth. Not only observation, but experiments conducted in various countries, have conclusively shown that biological development is inseparable from geological development, and that the conditions of soil, climate, scenery and situation play a most important part in the physical, moral and intellectual evolution or deterioration of human races. Take the case of China. Has it not been demonstrated that south of Peking, where the soil has undergone its latest elaboration, the best type of the Mongol is met with, while in the northern parts of that immobile empire, where the soil was formed at an earlier epoch, the physical characteristics of the people are more allied to those of monkeys than of men? And in India itself, go where you will, is not abundant evidence existing to show that, while the jungle and hill tribes who inhabit the primitive marshy and miasmatic regions, are scarcely distinguishable from the lower animals, on the other hand, in the same latitudes, where the soil is of modern formation, and where Nature has been lavish of her gifts, the people are superior not only in limb and colour, but even in civilisation, arts, language and general characteristics. I have often noted with deep interest how this law of co-ordinate geological and biological development has operated to produce, in certain physically favoured regions in Southern India, Dravidian races of a type so well developed as to offer some apparent justification for the pretensions to Aryan ancestry seriously urged by modern members of these races, who tell you, without moving a muscle, that their first ancestors, by some long-forgotten series of adventitious circumstances, came over the snow-clad Himalayas, and, pressing further south and breaking away from the main Aryan stream, came to settle down permanently in the midst of South Indian aboriginals, forfeiting thereby the proofs of their exalted pedigree. I have met such pretenders among the Nairs, the comely people who dwell in the historic wave-fringed, palm-shaded country of Kerala, represented, as I have remarked in a previous paper, by the British district of Malabar and the Native States of Cochin and Travancore. I have also met with them among the Bants who are at the present day limited to what was once known as the Tulu Nád and now comprises the districts of North and South Canara, the former being a portion of the Bombay Presidency and the latter of the Madras Presidency.

At a remote period in history, the Nairs and the Bants formed practically one great military guild or organisation, the baronial clans of a kingdom that, for all practical purposes, was a republic—a democracy in which the ruler lived for the people and by the people's sufferance. Although the story of how Parasurama, by casting his wand into the sea, recovered the littoral strip of beautiful country lying between Gokarnam on the north and Cape Comorin on the south may be only a fanciful myth, there is certainly enough of internal and circumstantial evidence to bring to the bar of history for the purpose of showing that the great colonist and pioneer fetched his settlers from the banks of the Kistna and founded a new home for them in the Tulu country, which, as routes went in those days, was far easier of success than the more southerly parts of the miraculously-recovered littoral. Later generations of these settlers naturally crossed over to Malabar, afterwards felicitously called "the land of the mountains and the waves."

The Malabar Nair chieftain of old had his *Nád*, or barony, and his own military clan; and the relics of this powerful feudal system still survive in the names of some of the taluks of modern Malabar, and in the official designations of certain Nair families, whose men still come out with quaint-looking swords and shields to guard the person of the Zamorin on the occasion of the rice-throwing ceremony which formally constitutes him the ruler of the land. Correspondingly, the Bants of the northern parts of Canara still answer to the territorial name of *Nád Bants*, or warriors of the *Nád*, or territory. It is necessary to explain that, in both ancient Keralam and Tulu, the functions of the great military and dominant classes were so distributed that only certain clans were bound to render military service to the ruling Prince. The rest were lairds or squires, or gentleman farmers, or the labourers and artisans of their particular community, though all of them cultivated a love of manly pursuits.

At the present day, the Bants of Canara, like their brethren of Malabar, are largely the independent and influential landed gentry, some would say, perhaps, the substantial yeomanry, of their respective districts; but whatever in the way of racial emasculation centuries of peace have been able to do in other countries and among other peoples, it is decidedly noteworthy that the Bants still retain their manly independence of character, their strong and well developed physique, and they still carry their heads with the same haughty toss as their forefathers did in the stirring, fighting times when, as an old proverb had it, "the slain rested in the yard of the slayer," and when every warrior constantly carried

his sword and shield, and vendettas, which passed on from generation to generation and were more cruel than those of Italy or Afghanistan, were the order of the day.

Both men and women of the Bant community are among the comeliest of Asiatic races, the men having high foreheads, well-turned aquiline noses and a general shape of head and face which may with much reason be likened to the Caucasian cast of features. The women are of shapely proportions, symmetrical of limb and feature, supple of waist, the matrons generally showing a tendency to what can only correctly be described by the French expression *embonpoint*, for although in Byron's phrase, we certainly have the thing in English, there is no name for it in our peculiar and conglomerate tongue. The Bant women have lovely dark eyes, beautifully pencilled eye brows, the low, narrow forehead, which the ancient *Maestros* loved to give to their pictures of fair and beautiful women, and a wealth of soft, glossy raven hair, that in many cases hangs down almost to the knee, in showers of "rippled ringlets." They bestow the greatest care upon it, with the happy result that age takes a long time to tell upon its glossy hue. In colour, these women are of that soft non-descript tint which has sometimes been erroneously described as lemon-coloured. The shapely Grecian foot, with its slightly arched instep, its second toe longer than any of the others, and the slight hollow on either side above the heel, are common among these Bant beauties. It is the foot, in fact, over which Sir George Birdwood, one of the greatest western exponents of Indian art, is so apt to go into raptures.

There should be no cause for wonder, in the light of the parallelism between biological and geological development to which I have already drawn attention, that the Bants should be physically so well favoured, for they dwell in a highly fertile region, amidst cool, shady groves, and, what is no less important, in roomy houses which are always kept scrupulously clean. Men, women and children religiously preserve their cleanliness of person and reap, in the shape of health and longevity, the fruits of their adherence to the simple and inexorable laws of hygiene. In fact, water is so frequently essential to every ceremony, that these interesting people would find themselves almost helpless in a country where there were fewer streams, tanks and wells than in Canara.

The houses of the well-to-do are, as a rule, roomy and well-built and thatched with palm, which keeps them cool even in the hottest weather. They are generally prettily situated, with beautiful scenic prospects stretching away on all sides. The woodwork is often richly and artistically carved.

Canara with its great mountain forests, yielding an abundance of ivory and a wealth and variety of timbers that readily adapt themselves to the most delicate needs of the carver, was at one time the home of the most deft, skilful and artistic wood-carvers, whose descendents, in all probability, are the Guddigars, who at the present day are found scattered in Goa, Honavar, Mysore and some other tracts of South-Western India. These hereditary carvers, I may note parenthetically, had a *shastram*, or science, of their own, which, with wonderful exactitude and nicety and the keenest botanical knowledge, defined and described the various kinds of wood suitable for rough or delicate carving, the age, season, locality, in which these woods ought to be felled, those species which require to be used alone, those that would answer when used conjointly with other varieties, etc.

The art is practically lost, but the traces of it that still remain are sufficient to indicate that a great degree of civilisation must have been attained by these children of the old, eastern world, centuries before the impact of the Occident with the Orient.

Originally, the Bants, like other South Indian Dravidian races, were undoubtedly followers of that form of demonology which is still so very much alive all over the Peninsula, notwithstanding the influence of Brahminism, perhaps, from one point of view, in consequence of the exclusive spirit of Brahminism. To-day the community is divided into demon-worshipping Hindus and Jains of the sky-clad denomination, but, as among the Nairs and Tizyas of the neighbouring district, demonolatry and the belief in *Bhutas* still exercise considerable sway.

The system of inheritance is known as *Aliya-Santana*, or sister's son's lineage. Obviously, this system of metronymy, like the *marumakkatayam* or matriarchal inheritance law of Malabar, originated in the ancient feudal conditions under which the men had to be constantly separated from their womenkind, in order to be fighting the wars of their prince, leaving the door thus open for unchastity to enter, which could only result in doubt as to the paternity of offspring. Moreover, as in ancient Athens and Etrusca, maternity was a more potent force than paternity, and it was appropriately acknowledged that the sister's son had a greater right than the wife's son to succeed to a man's estate. In fact, this view was entertained by the late Mr. Justice Muthuswami Iyer of the Madras High Court, who, in tracing the origin of the *marumakkatayam* law of Malabar, wrote that "comparative ancient history suggests that the social system was probably organised at a time when relationship was derived from the mother, and

when a child did not know its father and the father his child, or at all events when paternity was regarded as uncertain." That was, it is needless to say, at a very early stage in the history of family relations, at a time, in fact, when society rested on a foundation similar to that which held up the social fabric in the palmiest and most heroic days of the Hellenic republic. But, on the other hand, there are authorities who offer the theory that the system of *Aliya-Santana* could not have been introduced into the district earlier than about the thirteenth century. Be this as it may, the Bants still have a fanciful tradition to the effect that their law of inheritance was introduced about the year 77 A. D. by a despotic prince, called Bhutal Pandya, until whose time *Makkala Santana*, or inheritance from father to son, generally obtained in the country. It is said that the maternal uncle of this prince, called Deva Pandya, wanted to launch his newly-constructed ships with valuable cargo in them when, Kundodara, king of demons, demanded a human sacrifice. Deva Pandya asked his wife's permission to offer one of his sons, but she refused, while his sister Satyavati offered her son, Jaya Pandya, for the purpose. Kundodara, discovering in the child signs of future greatness, waived the sacrifice and permitted the ships to sail. He then took the child, restored to him his father's kingdom of Jayantika and gave him the name of Bhutal Pandya. Subsequently, when some of the ships brought immense wealth, the demon again appeared and demanded of Deva Pandya another human sacrifice. On the latter again consulting his wife, she refused to comply with the request and publicly renounced her title and that of her children to the valuable property brought in the ships. Kundodara then demanded the Deva Pandya to disinherit his sons of the wealth which had been brought in those ships, as also of the kingdom, and to bestow all on his sister's son, the abovenamed Joya Pandya, or Bhutal Pandya. This was accordingly done. And, as this prince inherited his kingdom from his maternal uncle and not from his father, he ruled that his own example should be followed by his subjects and it was thus that the *Aliya Santana* Law was established on the 3rd Magha Sudha of the year 1 of the era of Shalivahana, called Ishwara, about A. D. 77.

The Bants are split up into nearly twenty sub-divisions, and king caste is still a despotic ruler in their midst, though Mammon asserts his influence also. For instance, whereas the Bants are admittedly Sudras, there is a wealthy and influential section known as the Ballals, who wear the Brahminical thread, and in certain other respects, notably as regards abstinence from animal food, live very much like the twice-

born, and claim to be socially superior to the common Bant. An appreciable number of the community belong to the Jain denomination, apparently having been influenced by some mediæval wave of conquest or of peaceful immigration, and will not touch a morsel of food after sunset, being also strict vegetarians. The divisions known as Pattams and Heggades, who also wear the sacred thread, follow the hereditary profession of temple functionaries and keepers of the demon shrines that are dotted all over the picturesque district. Time was when these functionaries wielded the enormous powers and influence that have always been associated with temple service in a priest-ridden country like India.

The Bants have two distinct forms of marriage, and both are of such a nature that they save the chief social institution of the community from the charge of being nothing more than a fugitive connection, a *liaison* so capricious and elastic as not to deserve the definition of a sacramental and binding institution. The union between a bachelor and a spinster is known as *Kai-dhare*, that between a widower and a widow as *Budu-dhare*. The parents of the contracting parties having through the kindly intervention of mutual friends arranged a marriage, a day is fixed upon for the formal betrothal. On the appointed day the relatives and friends of the bridegroom go in procession to the residence of the bride's parents, where they meet the relatives and friends of the latter and take part in a sumptuous entertainment. After the banquet the elders of both families formally declare their intention of celebrating the marriage, whereupon plates of betel and nut are exchanged, and the betel and nut are partaken of by both parties. On the marriage day, the interesting ceremonial begins with the bridegroom taking his seat under a specially-constructed and decorated pandal, where he submits to being operated upon by a tonsorial artist. He is next taken to the well and bathed with much pomp and show. The bath over, bride and bridegroom are conducted by a large party to the pandal. They walk thrice round the seats that have been prepared for them, and then sit down. One of the elders steps forward, takes the bride's right hand and places it upon the right hand of the bridegroom. A silver goblet containing water and covered with a cocoanut, on the top of which are some flowers of the areca palm, is placed on the united hands. The leading witnesses present all touch the goblet, which with the united hands of the now blushing couple is then waved up and down thrice. This pretty, if strange, ritual completes the ceremony and makes the Bant youth and maiden one. The relatives and friends press for-

ward and the young couple are deluged with congratulations and with the frequent expression of the wish that they may become the parents of twelve boys and twelve girls, truly a liberal idea of the Psalmist's quiverful. The excitement over, one of the elder ladies of the house pitches out two plates, one being empty, the other containing rice. The guests forthwith scramble for the rice which they throw for luck over the married pair. Into the empty plate, each guest drops a little money-present. The bridegroom after this makes his own money-present to the bride. In the event of a divorce, owing to the infidelity of the wife, this money has to be returned to the injured husband. The bride, subsequent to the marriage, is taken to her husband's home, where she has to formally serve him with food in token of being his slave and helpmate. She receives another present from him and the consummation of the marriage may then take place.

Among the Bants of certain clans the chief feature of the ceremony consists in water being poured from a height on to the united hands of the contracting couple. In fact, this is said to have been the common form of marriage in olden days. Bant marriages are exogamous to the extent that between certain allied intertribal clans, or *Ballis*, unions are prohibited. Should the husband be in a better position than the wife, the latter takes up her abode with the former's family, but in the event of the wife's family holding a better position in society the wife continues to stay in her own ancestral home. The Bants are generally in favour of monogamy, but, as with the Burman, the slightest possible restraint is placed upon divorce, and the popular American plea of incompatibility of temper finds favour in Bant land. Widow marriage is generally limited to young women who have had no children, and, as a general rule, widows find husbands among widowers. The marriage ceremony merely consists in joining the hands of the couple with the strange detail of a screen being placed between the parties.

The Bants practice cremation of the dead. Funeral obsequies are performed with much pomp and ceremony on the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth days, when people are fed. Of late years a custom has sprung up among the Jain Bants of distributing cocoanuts on the third, fifth, seventh or ninth day after the death. Once a year, a feast corresponding to the Christian All Souls is celebrated, when the spirits of deceased ancestors are propitiated. The festival is held in October. In this respect the Bants merely resemble the rest of non-Brahmin Dravidians of the West Coast who have so rigidly and jealously preserved their ancient forms and doctrines of demonolatry.

Buffalo racing, cock fighting and native football are among the outdoor pastimes which are popular with the Bants. The outsider cannot fail to be struck with the tremendous excitement that attends a village fair in South Canara. Large numbers of cocks are laid out for sale, and groups of excited people may be seen huddled together, bending down with intense eagerness to watch every detail in the progress of a combat between two celebrated village game cocks. I doubt if even the happy-go-lucky Burman, or superstitious and excitable Malay, takes such an absorbing interest in this cruel pastime, as the Bant does, though it is superfluous to say that the Jain Bants, true to the religious principles which they have imbibed, view a cock fight with abomination. In the more southerly district of Malabar, the warrior Nair, once the most conservative of Indian communities, now displays a remarkable aptitude for civilising forces and influences which are distinctly fatal to the perpetuation of his primitive social laws and regulations. Similarly, the growing contact of Canara with outside forces is already resulting in material changes being introduced into the social and political fabric. And in view of the manner in which these changes are working, I see some reason to hope that the Bants also will shake off the lethargy which has grown on them, and make the most of the great Indian transition of the closing years of this present century. Of course, owing to its more isolated situation, social, political, and educational reform in Canara has been proportionately very much below that which has been carried out in the less isolated district of Malabar, and the Bant yeoman and gentleman farmer have not yet taken to any appreciable extent to western education. The number of Bants in the public service is exceedingly limited and it must be attributed to the *otium cum dignitate* which, in Canara as elsewhere, has always been associated with the profession of agriculture. However, western civilization is a most solvent and insinuating force, and as it creeps up his country, it will surely and steadily influence the conservative Bant and teach him to widen the horizon of his ambition. At present, he is still a part of the old world which the West found when she first visited her elder sister the East.

ART. XIII.—THE DOCTRINES OF JAINISM.

MOKSHA (SALVATION), MOKSHA MARAG (THE WAY TO IT) AND MOKSHA PHAL (ITS CONSEQUENCES).

I PROPOSE, in the following lines, to set forth the Jain view of *Moksha* (salvation); of the way which leads to *Moksha*; and, of the results of *Moksha*. In the first place, I shall point out what, according to Jain principles, *Moksha* is; then, the means by which it can be attained; and, in the end, the benefit which the soul derives from entering into the estate of *Moksha*.

Moksha is, briefly, the attainment of pure *Parmatum sarup*, that is, the attainment of Godhood. The means by which soul can attain to *Moksha* is the adoption of the Three Jewels, that is, right knowledge, right belief, and right conduct. And the fruit of *Moksha* is that soul, when it has entered into that condition, becomes Pure, Perfect, All-knowing, All-seeing, All-powerful and All-happy.

Now, as regards the *Parmatum sarup*, it should, in the first place, be stated that, according to Jainism, Parmatma has not the attribute of creating or causing death; punishing or rewarding—in brief, the attribute of Kurta Hurta; but is Bītrag, that is, devoid of love or hatred, and has no concern with or desire to do anything. And, as this doctrine leads people to speak of Jainism as teaching atheism, it is advisable that, before proceeding to deal with the principal subject, I should clear away this misunderstanding.

First, then, I venture to say that it is a gross mistake to include Jainism under atheism. Atheists are those who do not believe in the existence of Parmatama (God), whilst Jains believe in His existence, without, of course, ascribing the attributes of Kurta Hurta to Him. Now not to ascribe a particular attribute to a thing is not the same as to disbelieve in the existence of that thing. Besides this, those who believe in the existence of soul, must necessarily believe in that of God, because the final goal of soul must be in Him; while, on the other hand, atheists do not generally believe even in the existence of soul. Thus it is highly improper and illogical to call Jainism an atheistic system.

In order to put the point in a clearer light, I shall, in the following lines, try to show that belief in the existence of God as Kurta Hurta involves many contradictions and objections; imputes several defects and imperfections to God, and contributes but little to the virtuous conduct of man and his salvation.

Those who hold God to be Kurta Hurta are chiefly divided into two classes: (1) Those who regard three things as eternal principles, namely, God, souls and matter, and say that out of the latter two, God makes the world. (2) Those who hold God only to be an eternal principle. This latter class is again divided into two sub-sections: those who believe that God has created the world out of nothing, and those who hold that He has created the world out of Himself.

With reference to the first-class, who believe that, besides a Pure and Perfect Isvara, other souls and matter also are eternal, it may be remarked, that, if they hold souls and matter to be eternal, they should hold their attributes and conditions also to be eternal, because no being can exist without its attributes and conditions. If there is an entity, it must have some attributes and conditions to constitute it; and, if souls and matter, with their attributes and conditions, are eternal entities, they are, by their mutual interaction, quite sufficient to make the world, and there remains no need of any interference on behalf of Isvara.

Again, if Isvara is Perfect and All-happy, why should he have created the world? Creation requires action on His part, and no intelligent being acts without having some desire. But if He has desire, He cannot be Perfect and All-happy, because desire is an unmistakeable indication of some want in him who is affected by it and is admittedly the root of all unhappiness and disquietude. Thus, by imputing creation to God, we destroy two of His essential attributes.

It is admitted on all hands that soul, in this transmigratory state, suffers pain and distress, and that release from this state can be attained by acting on the precepts of God. Then, it may be asked, why did Isvara first put the soul into this wordly condition and then afterwards send down the Vedas for its release? Could a man who himself placed a thing in a bad condition and then framed rules for its betterment, be called wise? If it be said that God put souls into this worldly condition only to see which of them would be able to get released from it, then this shows want of knowledge on His part. If He is All-knowing, He must have known all this beforehand. Those only who have limited knowledge, stand in need of testing; but an All-knowing Being has no necessity to resort to testing. Thus the inevitable consequence of holding God to be the creator of the world, is that we are driven to impute want of wisdom and knowledge to Him, and this can be avoided only by believing that souls are in the worldly condition from eternity.

If God is perfectly Good and Pure, why do we find evil and impurity in His creation? No worldly ruler desires bad

actions to be committed in his country ; but, as worldly rulers are not all-knowing and all-powerful, they do not fully succeed in their endeavours to prevent such actions from being committed ; and, as God is All-knowing and All-powerful, no evil deeds ought to be committed in His domain and He should not even give anybody capacity or power to commit such deeds. If it be said that God gives power to do good as well as bad actions in order to see which of His creatures will be so wise as to abstain from exercising the latter power, then this shows a defect in His knowledge. An All-knowing Being, as I have already said, has no need to test ; He must have known all this from the first. Thus to attribute to God the creating of the world is to attribute to Him what is inconsistent with His goodness and purity, and this cannot be helped unless we believe God to be Bītrag (devoid of affection or hatred).

Again, why do we find sorrow, pain, disease and poverty in God's creatures ? If it be said that they are the result of the evil deeds of those creatures themselves, then I ask why did He give power to do or permit them to do, such deeds ? Observation shows that when a father becomes aware that his son is about to commit a bad action, he tries his utmost to prevent him from committing it, although, owing to his limited knowledge and power, he may not succeed in doing so. But the heavenly Father is All-knowing and All-powerful, He ought not, in the very beginning, to have permitted such evil deeds to be committed. What would one think of a father who, seeing his son about to commit some evil deed, and although he had power to prevent him from committing it, took no action towards that end and afterwards punished him for committing it ?

Moreover, the theory of those who believe that God has created the world out of nothing is incapable of being supported by any proof or argument. Nature does not, in any way, show us that this world has come into existence out of nothing. We do not see anything come out of nothing. Everything which manifests itself, has, somehow or the other, its previous state. Nor do we find anything to pass over into nothing. Physical science sufficiently proves that something cannot come out of nothing, nor can it be reduced to nothing. But those who hold that God has created the world out of nothing, and that, in the end, it will again be reduced to nothing seem to believe that being can be converted into non-being. Now, God is also a being and upon their own theory it follows that He can also be reduced to nothing. Thus they worship a God who has the potentiality of being converted into nothing, and consequently they worship a non-being.

Again, I ask whether being and non-being are contradictory terms or not. If it be answered that they are, then they cannot be converted into each other. But if it be said that they are not, then all such things as virtue and evil, truth and untruth, purity and impurity, &c., &c., are the same, and it is useless to speak of following the path of truth and virtue.

Thus the doctrine that God has created the world out of nothing and can reduce it to nothing whenever He pleases to do so, does not stand to reason or observation, and is altogether unsupported by natural law and scientific truth.

Apart, again, from scientific proof and logical argumentation, this doctrine is repugnant to common sense, and the intuitive faculty which unconsciously dictates that being and non-being cannot be converted into one another.

With regard to the theory that God has created the world out of Himself, or, in other words, that He has Himself taken the shape of the world, it may be asked how God, who Himself is a Pure and Perfect Being, could convert Himself into this impure and imperfect world. If the nature of God is purity and perfection, how could He be converted into the very opposite of these. Either there must have been, from the very beginning, the germs of impurity and imperfection in Him, or the work of creating the world cannot be attributed to him. Moreover, we find non-intelligent things in this world, so that the further question arises, how God, who is All-intelligence, could have changed Himself into non-intelligence? Are intelligence and non-intelligence not contradictory terms? If the answer be that they are; then the world could not have come out of God, who is a pure Intelligence. But if the answer be that they are not contradictory terms, then what more is there to be said of this theory than that it makes all virtue and evil, truth and untruth, &c., &c., alike, and leaves no room for the practical operations of the world any more than for salvation. In short the phenomenon of the world can be explained only either by believing that God is both intelligence and non-intelligence, which is an absurdity, or by admitting the existence of some other entity besides God.

The advocates in India, of this theory, who are called Vedantists, hold that Brahma is a non-active, pure intelligence, and so far their view is in conformity with the Jain doctrine of *Bitragta*. But they also hold that, when Brahma associated Himself with *Maya*, He became Lower Brahma and created the world. But here the question arises whether this *Maya* is a separate entity, or an attribute of the *Sakti* (power) of Brahma? If it is a separate entity, then the theory of

there being only one eternal principle falls to the ground and they resort to dualism ; if, on the other hand, it is an attribute of Brahma, then it must always be with Him and He cannot be regarded as pure intelligence, but must have the elements of non-intelligence, impurity and imperfection in Him.

Again, it may be asked, why did Brahma associate Himself with *Maya* ? If Brahma associated Himself with *Maya* at some particular time, then there must have been some cause for it,—either He must have had some desire or motive, in which case He cannot be called a pure, perfect being, and if He of His own accord did not associate Himself with *Maya*, but the latter forcibly attached itself to Him, then He must have been in subordination to it.

Of course, the *Maya* of the Vedantists' is something like the Pudgal of the Jains (subtle matter), but the difference only is this, that the former hold that Brahma associated Himself with *Maya* at some particular time and thus became the cause of *sansara* (the world), while the latter maintain that Jiva and Pudgal are intermingled with each other from eternity and thus are the cause of *sansara* (the world).

According to Jainism, Jiva and Brahma are, with regard to their real nature, one ; but so long as Jiva is associated with Pudgal, it is in the worldly condition, and when it becomes released from Pudgal, it becomes Brahma. And as they are intermingled from eternity, there can be no question of cause, because the question of cause can be raised only in the case of an event happening at some particular time. As soul and matter are intermingled, the latter produces in the former Rag Dwaish (love and hatred) which, having become the cause of good and bad actions, attract new matter towards soul. Matter, having given pleasures and pains to soul, becomes detached from it ; and as, through enjoyment of pleasures and suffering of pains, Rag Dwaish is produced in soul, new matter is attracted towards it. This sequence of matter and Rag Dwaish (love and hatred, including all the various passions and affections) has continued from eternity and will continue till soul has purged itself of the latter. When soul succeeds in freeing itself from Rag Dwaish, new matter ceases to be attracted towards it, and the old matter, having produced its result, which, owing to the destruction of Rag Dwaish, no longer influences soul, becomes detached, and the soul, going unto Nirvana, becomes Brahma.

The great argument which the Kurta Badees bring forward is that they find beauty, regularity, order, uniformity and skill in the world, and that this cannot be explained except by the assumption of one intelligent cause. Now, in the first place, it is not correct to say that we find only beauty, re-

gularity, etc., in the phenomena of the world. Do we not find also ugly men and ugly things in the world? Have we not sometimes rain at irregular times? If it be said that, in thus causing rain, there must be some beneficial object in God's view, then I humbly answer, that He, being All-knowing and All-powerful, could attain that object without having recourse to irregularity and without causing the slightest injury or inconvenience to His creatures. Have we not sometimes disorder by storms, volcanoes, etc.? If it be remarked that God, with some beneficial purpose on the whole, has sometimes to resort to exceptional courses, then I reply that He, being Omniscient and Omnipotent, could accomplish that beneficial purpose without the least disorder in His creation. In short, we find both beauty and ugliness, regularity and irregularity, order and disorder, unity and variety, skill and unskillfulness in nature. But even granting that only the former are found, it is a too bold assertion to say that the phenomenon of the world can be explained only by one intelligent cause. Of course, an intelligent cause plays a prominent part, but an effect composed of both intelligence and non-intelligence, can hardly be said to arise from only intelligence. They say that uniformity must result from intelligence, but a little consideration will show that this is hardly the case. Observation proves that an intelligent being can be influenced by various inclinations and desires, and is more susceptible of making change than a non-intelligent being. A non-intelligent being, on the other hand, will proceed according to its fixed nature and will continue to do so until acted upon by some other intelligent or non-intelligent cause.

This world is, according to Jainism, the effect of both intelligent and non-intelligent causes. Intelligent cause is only of one kind called *Jiva* (soul), the characteristic of which is *Gayan* (knowledge); while non-intelligent cause is of five kinds, namely, *Pudgal* (matter), *Aakash* (space), *Kal* (time), *Dharma* and *Adharma*. The characteristic of *Pudgal* is *Saparsh* (tangibility), *Ras* (taste), *Gandh* (smell), and *Barun* (colour); that of *Aakash* is to give room to, and contain, all other *Drabas*; that of *Kal* is to bring on changes; that of *Dharma* is to help *Jiva* and *Pudgal* to move; and that of *Adharma* to help them to cease to move. Thus, these six entities, with their nature, attributes, and conditions, are the cause of the world. But it is not that they have made the world at some particular time, they have been making and sustaining it from eternity. Of course, condition only changes, which causes us to speak of creation and destruction.

But cause is always of two kinds,—*Upadan Karun*, that

is material cause, and *Nimit Karun*, that is, operative cause. Here it may be said that, these six entities being only the material cause of the world, there must be some other operative cause. But the Jains deny this, and hold that, as these six entities act also upon one another, and thus become the cause of various changes, they are the material as well as the operative cause of the world.

People say that God creates, sustains, destroys and pervades the world. This seems to be something like the *Satta* of Jainism, which lays down that there is a subtle essence or power called *Satta*, underlying all the six *Drabas*, which is the cause of their existence and modifications. But this power is not, according to Jainism, a separate entity existing outside the six *Drabas*; it is a power inseparably dwelling in them. This power is not an extracosmic, individual person, creating and controlling the universe, but it is the general *Suvabhava* (attribute) of all the *Drabas*. It is neither an intelligent nor a non-intelligent being, but the general essence constituting both.

Jainism does not like to call this all-pervading power, or the sum of all the powers, attributes, and effects of all the *Drabas*, by the name of God and worship it, because to do so would not benefit the *Sansari Jivas* (worldly souls) in any way. To worship, and to meditate upon, a *Kurta Hurta* God can neither contribute to virtuous conduct in the world, nor lead the soul to its final goal *Moksha*.

There are five great principles of virtuous conduct which are recognised by almost all religions. The first great principle is *Ahinsa*, which, briefly, means not to kill, or inflict pain or injury on, any living being; the second is *Satya*, that is truth; the third is *Astai*, that is, not to steal; the fourth is *Brahm Charya*, which means, in brief, having control over the sexual desires and not committing adultery; and the fifth is *Afrigrah* which shortly means not being addicted to sensual pleasures.

The notion of a *Kurta Hurta* God leads people to think that God has created all things for man's use, and that, if man does not use them, he is ungrateful to God. Hence we find that *Kurta Badees* (followers of the belief of God as *Kurta Hurta*) do not much act upon the first, fourth and the fifth of the above-mentioned principles, and the violation of these three often leads to that of the other two also. We practically see that they show little care to avoid killing living beings and generally indulge in the free use of flesh and wine.

Almost all religions agree that, for the attainment of salvation, the suppression of the passions and desires and the

severance of worldly connections are most essential, and these conditions cannot be fulfilled unless the above-mentioned five principles of virtue are first adopted. Besides, people may argue that, when God has created, and gifted them with, various passions and desires, why should they not make use of them and why should they try to suppress them? And when He has Himself sent them down into this world, why should they seek to sever their connection from it?

Thus neither virtue nor salvation can be attained by worship, and meditation upon, a Kurta Hurta God, and hence the Jains regard Him as *Bītrag*. Parmatma has, according to Jainism, infinite knowledge, infinite seeing, infinite power, infinite happiness, infinite goodness, infinite *Shudhta* (purity); and is *Bītrag*, *Nirlep* (having no cover or plaster), i.e., free from *Karamas*; unadulterated soul, only an embodiment of knowledge; *Amurteek* (bodiless); *Abyabadh* (undeclinable); *Agar Laghu*, that is, neither heavy nor light, and consequently needing no throne or chair to sit on; *Avgahan* (unobstructible). He is above all the colours, all the tastes, all the smells, and all the sounds; tangibility cannot touch Him; He is free from birth and death; is *Niranjan* and *Thitanand* (having no adulteration, an All-happy Intelligence); He is free from passions and desires and consequently from matter; and is the most Exalted. He is beyond the senses; mind cannot reach Him; and is within the *Shudha Gayan* (pure knowledge) of soul.

RICKHAH DASS JAINI, B.A.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

In the *Calcutta Review* for January last we published a reply from our valued contributor, Rickah Das Jaini, to an editorial note on his explanation of certain points connected with the doctrines of Jainism which had appeared in the previous number. The note in question was to the effect that the writer had made no attempt to explain the way in which non-soul, or matter, acts upon soul, and it was remarked that this was not surprising, inasmuch as the difficulty referred to was the rock upon which every dualistic theory of the Universe necessarily split, and inasmuch as, further, Jainism was, from the nature of the case, obviously debarred from having recourse to any such facile hypothesis on the subject as that embodied in the Cartesian doctrine of "Occasional Causes," or the cognate theory of "Pre-established Harmony" of Leibnitz.

In his reply to our Note, Rickah Das Jaini claims that he had not left the point wholly untouched, though, as it relates "not to gross, but to fine, matter," what he said might be unintelli-

gible to many. He then goes on to remind us that, in his article in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1898, he had said that *draba karma* were assemblages of the atoms of matter, and that, as he had further pointed out in the explanation already mentioned, the nature of matter was to produce *Rag dwaish*, i.e., passion, and *Moh*, i.e., illusion in soul. As to the way in which matter and soul act on one another, he added: "There is an undeniable principle that, when two things having different attributes combine, each tends to produce its own attributes in the other, and they form a combination which is something different from either. Now the attribute of soul is its power of knowing, while that of matter is its power of attraction and repulsion. As Sansari Jiva (worldly soul) and Pudgul (matter) are in a state of bondage, matter tends to produce attraction and repulsion in Jiva, and the result is that Jiva (soul) manifests love and hatred."

Further on he says that, though soul and the atoms of matter are invisible to us, and so we cannot see their action, still we find that, as a matter of fact, "gross matter (objects surrounding us) do produce love and hatred, pleasures and pains, in us."

It must be obvious, we think, from this reply, that the writer misapprehends the real nature of the difficulty under discussion. In the first place, it is to be noted that his argument from analogy, based on the fact that, when two material things with different attributes are combined, each tends to produce its own attributes in the other, and the combination formed by them differs from either, is inapplicable to the case under consideration. For, except on the supposition that soul is merely a subtle form of matter, which is contrary to the Jainist view of its nature, we are not in a position to reason from what happens in the case of interaction between different kinds of matter to what may be expected to happen in the case of the interaction of matter and soul, which belong to wholly different categories of being.

It must, we think, be further obvious that, in bringing forward this argument from analogy, Rickah Das Jaini is confounding two distinct questions, viz., the question of the effect produced by the interaction of soul and matter, and the question of the way in which the effect is produced. However that may be, and this is the point on which we wish specially to insist, for light on either of these questions, as they concern the interaction of soul and matter, we must look elsewhere than to our experience of the interaction of matter and matter.

Rickah Das Jaini does, indeed, refer us to the testimony of our consciousness, for proof of the fact of the interaction. We find, he says, that objects surrounding us do produce love and

hatred, pleasures and pains, in us. Here, however, he is plainly reasoning in a circle. If it were certain, not only that both matter and soul exist, but that the "objects surrounding us" belong to the former, and the subject, or ego, to the latter, category, then, although we should still be as far as ever from an answer as to the *how* of their interaction, we might be content with the testimony of our consciousness to the fact that they do interact, and that the result of their interaction is those affections of our consciousness which we call love, hatred, pleasures, pains and the like. But matter and soul are not given in consciousness. All that is given in consciousness is its own changes. Justifiably or not, we infer from those changes the action of a *non-ego*. But it is a long step from that inference to the conclusion that the *non-ego*, or any element of it, is matter, *i.e.*, *non-soul*.

With reference to our observation that the difficulty as to the interaction of matter and soul is the rock on which every system of dualism splits, it may, perhaps, be replied that it is no less difficult to understand how soul can act on soul. But, while this may be admitted, it does not affect the fact that consciousness affords us no warranty for differentiating Being into two orders of entities, matter and soul.

The *non-ego*, which includes the whole sensible world, we do not know, and are for ever precluded from knowing, otherwise than *objectively*. The ego, on the other hand, we do not know, and are for ever precluded from knowing, otherwise than *subjectively*. The conditions under which alone we could compare the two do not, and cannot, consequently, exist ; and, without comparing them, we are obviously not in a position to know whether they belong to different orders, or to the same order, of Being. If we could affirm, on the one hand, that the *non-ego*, or that element of it which we cognise as matter, possesses no subjective side, or, on the other hand, that the *ego* possesses no objective side, this difference in itself might conceivably warrant our placing them in two distinct and opposite categories of Being. But, from the nature of the case, we are not, and cannot be, in a position to affirm either of these propositions.

ART. XIV.—AMTHAL-UL-ARAB.

(ARAB PROVERBS IN THEIR RELATIONS TO FOLKLORE,
HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.)

Yadhribu'llahu'l amthála lin-nasi.

God propoundeth parables unto men.—*Suratun Noor* (Light).

PROVERBS in conversation are like axioms in philosophy, maxims in law, and postulates in mathematics.

Four things are to be found in a proverb which are not to be met with in any other form of speech—(1) brevity of expression ; (2) accuracy of thought ; (3) beauty of comparison ; and (4) quickness of wit.—*Ibraheem*.

Mr. Henry, in his commentary on the Book of Proverbs, says that the Hebrew *Mashal* מָשָׁל, here used for a proverb, comes from a word that signifies to *rule*, or to *have dominion*, because of the commanding power and influence which wise and weighty sayings have upon the children of men ; he that teacheth by them doth *dominari in concionibus*, —‘rules his auditory.’ It is easy to observe how the world is governed by proverbs. “As saith the proverb of the ancients” (1 Sam.), or as the vulgar express it, “as the old saying is,” goes very far with most men in forming their notions and fixing their resolves.

But although in Arabic also the root m, th, l, conveys, among other ideas, the idea of “ruling or commanding,” the Arab *savants* derive *mathal* (proverb) from another significance of the same root—“Wise sayings, the truth of which is present in thought, are called proverbs (*amthál*) because their pictures *stand* in thought ; derived from *mathool*, to stand.”*

Proverb has been defined as the remnant of the philosophy of the ancients preserved from destruction by its *brevity* and *utility*. Teaching by proverbs was an ancient way of teaching. It was the most ancient way amongst the Greeks. The seven wise of men of Greece had each of them some one saying that they valued themselves upon and that made them famous.

It was a plain and easy way of teaching which cost neither the teachers nor the learners much pains, nor put their understandings or memories to the stretch. Long periods and arguments far-fetched must be laboured ; while a proverb which carries both its sense and evidence in a little compass, is presently apprehended and easily retained.

Much of the wisdom of the ancients has been handed down to posterity by proverbs, and some think we may judge of

* Ibnus Sikkeet ; al-Mubarrad ; Ali.
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the temper and character of a nation by the complexion of its vulgar proverbs.

Indeed, the vast collection of Arab proverbs is a true mirror in which the Arab life is vividly reflected. It is in their bald and naked proverbs that we catch glimpses of their manners and customs, their mode of living and of warfare. Their proverbs breathe the freshness of the desert, and we may say with equal truth that "*Proverbs are the register of the Arabs*" —*Innal amthála divánu'l Arab.*

Great as was the tendency, among primitive nations in days before the invention of writing, to give utterance to proverbs and pithy sayings, the Semitic mind was specially prone to do so. We have the Proverbs of Solomon and the vast collection of the Proverbs of the Arabs.

Though it is not an easy task to quote at random a large number of proverbs and to classify and arrange them in logical or chronological order, I give a few typical specimens of each class ; —*ab uno disce omnes.*

The vast collection of Arabic Proverbs naturally falls into two broad divisions—moral and non-moral. By non-moral proverbs I mean those which are connected with some historical incident or personage, or throw light on the manners, customs, social life and surroundings of the Arabs, and which embody their beliefs, notions and superstitions. In other words, those which convey no moral idea, but which are not necessarily immoral. By moral proverbs I mean those which are pregnant with some deep philosophical meaning, which have some ethical purpose in view, which contain, in a crystallized form, the wisdom of the ancients, or some great truth.

I may fairly call, without being far away from the truth, the non-moral and moral proverbs as pre-Islamic and post-Islamic.

I

NON-MORAL PROVERBS.

A.—(a) Connected with some historical incident, or with the life and adventures of some hero or heroine of old.

1.—*Sahifatu'l Mutalammis.*

This phrase, which is equivalent to the classic *literæ Bello-rophantæ* had its origin in one of the most celebrated incidents of early Arab History—the treachery of Amr, King of Hira, which caused the destruction of the young poet, Tarafah, and nearly involved in the same fate Tarafah's uncle, Mutalammis. Tarafah was the most perfect type of the wild and dissolute, but gifted, poets of the Ignorance. From early youth his genius for poetry, and his license of tongue, were remarkable. One day, when he was playing with the children

of his age, his uncle, Mutalammis, was reciting a poem which described, as was common among the Arabs, the rare qualities of a camel. He said—"I mount a dark red male camel ... or else a she-camel, etc."

2.—*Kadi'stanwaka'l jamalo.*

"See the he-camel transformed into a she," exclaimed Tarafah, and the phrase became proverbial to express a sudden inelegant transition. Mutalammis, much offended, told the boy to put out his tongue: Tarafah did so; it was dark in colour, and Mutalammis said: "That black tongue will be thy ruin." When Tarafah grew up he surpassed all his contemporary poets in debauchery, and addicted himself completely to love, wine and gambling. His great poem (one of the *Moallakáts*) was composed on the occasion of the loss of the herd of camels belonging to himself and his brother, which was carried off by a hostile tribe while he was spending his time in pleasure. At length, thoroughly ruined, Tarafah left his kindred and, accompanied by Mutalammis, repaired to the Court of Amr 'bn Hind, King of Hira. Amr appointed them to attend on his brother, Kaboos. Kaboos was a boorish prince, and treated the two poets with great indignity. The passionate Tarafah made some satirical verses upon him. These verses were brought to the ears of Amr by Abd Amr, Tarafah's brother-in-law and a favourite of the King.

Now this Amr'bn Hind was a most ferocious and vindictive prince. He had burnt alive ninety-nine men and one woman of the tribe of Tamim, in accordance with a vow of vengeance he had made to destroy a hundred of the race. This deed had gained for him the appellation of *al-Mubarrík*, the Burner.

3. Of the proverb,—*Inná'sh shakiya wáfidu'l Barájim.* (Ill fated is he of the Barájim, *i.e.*, Tamim, who approaches.) He now determined to destroy both Tarafah and Mutalammis. Sending for them, he asked them if they desired to leave his Court. They answered in the affirmative; and he then told them that he would give them letters to Abu Kárib, Governor of Hajar. Taking the letter, Mutalammis and Tarafah set out. Mutalammis suspected treachery, and, as neither of the poets could read, he presented his letter to a young man on the way, and asked him what it contained. It was a request to the Governor of Hajar to put the bearer to death (*cf.* Hamlet). Mutalammis destroyed his letter, and implored Tarafah to fly with him into Syria. Tarafah obstinately refused, and continued his journey to Abu Kárib, who arrested him and caused him to be buried alive.

Amr ibn Hind was afterwards slain by the poet-warrior, Amr ibn Kalthoom, author of the *Moallakah*, in revenge for an

insult offered to his mother by Hind, the mother of Amr; whence the proverb,

4.—*Aftako min Amr i'bne Kalthoom—*

“Quicker to slay than Amr ibn Kalthoom.”

5.—*Ka nadmānāy jazimata mawaddatan.*

“Like the two boon-companions of Jazimah in love and friendship.” This was Jazimatu'l Abrash, the famous king of the Arabs of Irak, and celebrated for his pride and grandeur in the popular legends. It was the custom of the Arabs to associate by threes in their feasting, so that each man had two boon-companions. But such was the pride of Jazimah that he would drink with none of mortal race, but declared that the *Farkadan* (name of a double star) alone should be his boon-companions; and to these stars cups were filled whenever the king caroused, and liquor was poured out as if they had indeed drunk. But it came to pass at last that the king's nephew, Amr ibn Adi, was lost in the *Samaweh*, or Syrian desert. This Amr was the son of Adi and Rakash, the king's sister. Adi, a youth of princely blood, was one of the king's pages, and, he and Rakash having mutually fallen in love, she persuaded him to ask the king's consent after he had been well drunken and then to consummate the marriage at once. Adi the next day found Jazimah so angry at what had passed that he sought safety in flight. Rakash gave birth to a son, whom Jazimah adopted, since he was himself childless. The boy Amr used to go out with the king's servants to gather mushrooms (Arab *Kam'at*; Persian *Samdroogh*) and it happened that, whenever the servants found fine mushrooms, they ate them and brought back only the worst kind to the king, but Amr brought back the best he could find, and one day, in presenting them, he uttered this verse

6.—*Házá janáyá wa khayárohu fih, Iz külle jánin yadohu ilá fih.*

“This is my collection and the best of them are there,
When the hands of all the pluckers to their mouths repair.”

These last words became proverbial. At last Amr, who was eight years old, was lost in the desert. Jazimah caused a thorough search to be made, and offered to grant the wish of anyone who would bring him news of Amr, but to no avail. At last two brothers, Malik and Okayl, sons of Farih, who were journeying to the king with presents, met a young man with his hair and nails grown long. They said to him: “Who art thou?” He said, “Son of the Tanukhi” (Jazimah reigned over the Tanukhites). The adventure which followed is not worth relating. In the end they brought him to the king who

offered them whatever reward they chose to ask. They asked that Jazimah should take them as his boon-companions as long as he lived. The king consented, and the three dwelt together for forty years until death separated them.

Amr was called Amr of the Collar, for, when he was brought back, his mother, in accordance with a vow she had taken, left on him the collar he had worn in infancy, on which Jazimah said "Amr has outgrown the collar."

7.—*Kaborá Amrun anit towke*

which became proverbial in speaking of a thing that is no longer fitting.

9.—*Le amrim ma jada'a kasirun anfahu.*

"For some purpose did Kasir cut his nose off."

10.—*Jada'a anfahu be yadihi.*

"He cut his nose off with his own hands."

11.—*Ath'aru min Kasirin.*

More revengeful than Kasir. These are three of the series of proverbs which connects itself with Jazimatu'l Abrash, Queen Zebba and Kasir.

The Kasir in question, Kasiru'bue Saad'il Lakhmi, was the freedman (*mowla*) of Jazimatu'l Abrash. When Jazimah was treacherously murdered by Lebba, Queen of al Jazirah (Mesopotamia), Kasir, in order to avenge his master's death, cut off his nose himself and sought refuge with Queen Zebba, saying that Amr ibn Adi, Jazimah's nephew, had punished him for advising Jazimah to listen to the Queen's overtures. He soon became a great favourite and the confidant of the Queen and was several times sent by her to the Irak for purposes of trade. In the last of these commercial trips he communicated with Amr ibn and, accompanied by him, returned to Mesopotamia (*al Jazirah*). Under the pretence of sending presents to the Queen, he introduced a hundred soldiers, concealed in strong boxes, into the palace. At night they threw open the lids and attacked the Queen. She tried to escape by a secret passage known only to her and to Kasir. When she found the entrance to the passage guarded by Kasir and Amr ibn Adi, she licked the poison concealed in her ring and died exclaiming—

12.—*Be yadi la be yaday ibne Adi.*

"I die at the hands of me, not at the hands of the son of Adi."

13.—*Lailatu'l Farazdaki wa'l Halfa.*

Farazdak was a nickname which the famous satirical poet,

Hammám ibn Ghalib (better known as Farazdak), received on account of his dark complexion, the word being a corruption of the Persian *parázdeb*, which means a piece of burnt dough. He was a dissolute Moslem and gave rise to the proverb, "A night of Farazdak and Halfa," which signifies a night spent in debauchery. With other rakes, he penetrated into a Christian convent and passed the night with a nun named Halfa, drinking wine, eating pork, and dressing up in the nun's habit.

14.—*Ka fáqe-in ainayhe amdá.*

"Like one who puts out his eyes deliberately."

Farazdak's adventure with his wife, Nawar, is very celebrated, but is told by different writers with certain discrepancies. Farazdak had been commissioned to ask her in marriage, but, becoming enamoured of her, he took her for himself. She afterwards forced him to divorce her, and he pronounced the necessary words in the presence of witnesses. When he found that the parting was irrevocable he exclaimed—

*Nadimto nadámata'l Kosa-ee-i lammá
Ghadat anni mutallakatan Nawárú
Wa kánat jannati fa kharajto minhá
Ka Adamá híná akhrajahuz Dhirárú
Fakunto ka fáqe-in ainayhe amda,
Fa asbahá ma yúdheo lahun nahárú.*

"I repented the repentance of al-Kosa-ee when Nawár became divorced from me ; she was my Paradise, and I came out of it like Adam when expelled by the Angel az-Dhirár. I am like one who puts out his own eyes deliberately. No more does the day-light shine for him."

15.—*Nadimto nadamata'l Kosa-ee.*

"I repented the repentance of al-kosa-ee." Al-kosa-ee had found a fine *nabá* tree, of which bows and arrows are made, and had fashioned a bow for himself. He took his stand in the night to shoot wild asses ; he shot and pierced one, but the bow was so strong and good that the arrow went through the body, and struck on the rock behind. Al-kosa-ee, hearing the sound in the darkness, thought he had missed his aim. Another troop came by, and he shot again with the same seeming want of success. At last, after shooting five times, he broke the bow in a rage. When morning dawned, he found that five asses lay dead, pierced with his arrows. His repentance at having destroyed so excellent a bow passed into a proverb, and it is said—

16.—*Andamo mina'l Kosa-ee.*

"More repentant than al-Kosa-ee."

17.—*Raja'to be khuffay Honain.*

"I returned with the two boots of Honain."

18.—*Akhyabo min Honain.*

"More disappointed than Honain."

Honain was a shoe-maker with whom an Arab of the desert haggled about the price of a pair of shoes. At last the man would not purchase, and they parted angrily. Honain resolved on revenge; so he went forward on the road by which he knew the Arab must pass, and threw down one of the shoes. The Arab, when he came up, said: "How like this is to one of Honain's shoes; if the other were with it, I would take them." In the meantime Honain had gone on and thrown down the other shoe, and then hidden himself near. When the Arab came to the second shoe, he repented that he had not picked up the first; and, tying up his camel, he returned to fetch it. Honain at once mounted and rode off, having thus gained a camel in exchange for a pair of shoes. When the Arab went back to his tribe, they said to him: "What hast thou brought from thy journey?" He said: "I have brought back nothing but Honain's shoes," which became proverbial for a bootless errand.

19.—*'Alá ahlehá tajni Barákisho.*

"Barákish sins against her people." The name Barákish is variously explained as that of a bitch which betrayed the place of a tribe's retreat by her barking; as that of the wife of a king who allowed her damsels needlessly in jest to kindle the signal-fire for the assembling of the troops; and thirdly, as that of a wife of Lokmán of Ad who persuaded her husband to eat the flesh of the camel, so that through the voracity of himself and his people the camels of her own tribe were destroyed.

20.—*Jammil w'ajtamil.*

"Camel us and camel thyself."

It is related that her husband's tribe did not feed upon camel, but a son of hers by a former marriage, going to visit his mother's family, brought back a joint of camel, which Lokmán, tasting, pronounced to be good food. Barákish, hearing this and desiring to partake of camel, said to her husband: "Give us camel to eat and eat it thyself," which words became proverbial.

21.—*Doona Gholayyána khartu'l katád.*

This proverb is connected with the famous war of al-Basús. When al-Basús raised a hue and cry against the

outrage done to her neighbour's camel by Kolayb, Jessás, her nephew, in order to pacify her, said to her: "Be tranquil, to-morrow shall be slain a male-camel whose houghing shall be a greater deed than this wounding of thy neighbour's she-camel." By this he meant that he would slay Kolayb; but the prince suspected nothing, and when he heard the threat of Jessás, he said to himself: "He intends to slay my camel stallion Gholayyán; but *less than Gholayyán is the stripping of the katád, i.e., to kill Gholayyán*, would be a more difficult task than to strip the thorny tragacanth with his naked hand. This phrase became proverbial, and is used when one attempts a task above his powers. Jessás watched his opportunity, and one day, when Kolayb went to the field unarmed, he followed him accompanied by one Amr. Jessás ran at him with his spear and broke his spine and went and stood over him. Kolayb, in agony, said to him: "Give me a drink of water."

22.—*Tokhatta elayya Shobaythan wa'l Aháss.*

"Thou hast passed by Shobayth and al-Ahass," said Jessas, alluding to two water-sources which Kolayb had prohibited to the Banoo Shaybán. These words became proverbial and are used when one seeks a thing where it is not to be found. He then left him, and, Amr going up, Kolayb asked him also for water; but Amr got off his horse and despatched him, so that "to ask help of Amr in need" is a proverb meaning to supplicate a merciless person.

(b). Proverbs connected with the manners, customs, beliefs and superstitions of the Pagan Arabs.

1.—*Khairu'l ghazá-e bawákerohu Wa Khairu'l ashá-e bawáserohu.*

"The best morning meals are the early ones, the best evening meals are those that are clearly seen," *i.e.*, that are taken before dark. The Arabs believed that meals taken after dark would cause indigestion (cf. the Buddhist belief).

2.—*Tabá-udu'z dhabbe 'an'n noon.*

"The distance of the lizard from the fish."

The lizard was supposed not to drink; but, when thirsty, to open his mouth to the wind (cf. Hamlet. "Chameleon's dish"). So the Arabs said:

3.—*Lá yakúno zá hattá yaridu'z dhabb.*

4.—*Lá 'af-'alo záliká hattá yahúnnaz dhabbo fi athari'l ebelis Sádira.*

5.—*Arwá minaz dhabbe.*

"I will not do so and so until the lizard goes to water;" and the phrase "quenching thirst more easily than the lizard" became proverbial.

6.—*Taqdimu'l harame minán ne-am.*

7.—*Dafuu'l banát mina'l múkremát.*

8.—*Ni'ma'l khatenu'l qabr.*

"To send women before (to the other world) is a benefit." "The burying of girls is a generous deed." "The best son-in-law is the grave." These proverbs, it is needless to say, show the prevalence of the inhumation of female children (*wá'd*) and the belief of the Arabs that it was praiseworthy.

9.—*Tárart bihim'l auká.*

The Arabs say of anyone that is lost "The Auká has flown off with him." The Auká, the Persian *Simurgh*, is a fabulous bird which is supposed to dwell on the Káf.

10.—*Lahika bi'l kárizain.*

"He has joined the two gatherers of *karaz* leaves." The two gatherers of *karaz* leaves here alluded to were two persons of the tribes of Anzá and Namir who had gone out to gather *karaz* leaves, but were never heard of afterwards. Hence it is proverbially said of a person who is not expected to return, "he has joined, &c."

11.—*Aharro min dam'i'l maklát.*

"Hotter than the tears of one who has lost her children." The Arabs believed that the "tears of sorrow" were hot and the "tears of joy" were cold.

12.—*Atwalo min zilli'l kanát.*

The Arabs compared a long day with the shadow of a spear. They believed that the spear threw the longest shadow. So they speak of a short day as

13.—*Aksaro min ebhám'i'l katát.*

Shorter than the thumb of *kata* (a bird).

(c). Uttered by famous persons on important occasions.

1.—*Anjaza húrrun ma wa'ada.*

"The honourable performs what he promises." This saying was first uttered by al-Harith al-Kindi to Sakhr. Harith had said to Sakhr: "Shall I show thee booty on the condition that I receive the fifth part of it?" "Yes," answered Sakhr. Harith then directed him to a caravan from Yemen. After Sakhr had plundered the caravan, Harith claimed his share and uttered these words, which passed into a proverb.

2.—*Fatan wa lá ka Malik.*

"A knight, but not like Malik." The meaning is that the person spoken of was not equal to Malik in bravery or goodness. This Malik, whose name has thus passed into a proverb,

was Malik ibn Nowairah, who was put to death by Khalid-ibn al-Walid, the famous Moslem General. His brother, Mutemmim, mourned his death for a long time, and when people, in order to console him, told him of other brave men similarly killed, he used to say: "A brave man, but not like Malik."

3.—*Hanna kidhun laisa minha.*

"The arrow sounded; it is not one of the right sort," became a proverbial expression in reference to a false pretender; the words having been used by Omar, on the day of Bedr, in speaking of Walid ibn 'Okbah, who had exclaimed that he was of the Koraysh.

4.—*Sadagani sinna bakrohi.*

"He told me truly his camel's age." A man who was about to sell a camel assured the purchaser that it was *bázil*, i.e., it had cut its *náb*, or tusk, and had consequently entered its ninth year and attained its full strength. At this moment the camel started away, and the seller inadvertently called out to it, *Had'a, had'a*, the cry by which young foals are called back. The purchaser thus found that he was being deceived, and exclaimed: "Thou hast now truly, &c."

5.—*Má ward'ke yá Asáme?*

"What hast thou left behind thee, Asáme?" Al-Harith ibn Amr, King of Kindah, desired to wed a young lady of whose charms he had heard; but, being a cautious prince, he first sent an old woman, Asáme, to learn from actual inspection whether she deserved her reputation. When she returned, the king questioned her in the above words.

6.—*Tatlobo atharan b'ada ainin.*

"Seekest thou the trace after the substance." These words were first spoken by Malik ibn Amr al-Amili when he slew the King of Ghassan. Roused by his mother to take vengeance for his brother, who was slain by the king, Malik watched his opportunity and fell on the king when he was journeying with a small escort. The attendants offered Malik a hundred camels, the usual indemnity for a murder, if he would spare the king. He said: "I will not seek a trace (shadow) after the substance," and at once killed the king.

7.—*Innan nisá' lahmun alá wadhami.*

"Women are like meat on a butcher's board." The phrase "like meat on a butcher's board" is an ancient proverbial expression signifying the being weak and helpless, or exposed to danger. The proverb, "women are like meat on the tray," is derived from a saying of Omar ibn al-Khattáb.

8.—*Hála'l jaridh doona'l qaridh.*

"Choking hinders the verse;" *i.e.*, stops the way of the verse. A father forbade a poetical son to recite until the youth saddened and fell into an illness. The father then relented, but it was too late; and the son, in his last moments, uttered the words of the proverb—

9.—*Inna'l asá gore-at le zi hulmi.*

"The staff is struck for the wise." Amr ibn az-Zarabe was the first man "for whom the staff was struck;" *i.e.*, whose garrulity and wandering in old age were checked by his daughter's striking, at his request, a staff on a shield. The Arabs used to consult him on disputed points, and whenever he erred in his judgment on account of senility, his daughter warned him by striking the rod. According to another authority the rod was first struck by Saad ibn Malik in order to warn his brother Amr ibn Malik, who had incurred the wrath of the King No'man.

10.—*Fi's Saife dhayyayte'l laban.*

"During summer thou spoiledst the milk," said by Amr ibn 'Odas to his wife Dakhtenoos. Dakhtenoos had compelled Amr to divorce her on the ground that he was too old to be her husband. Unfortunately her second husband was so poor that she was obliged, on one occasion, to send to Amr (her former husband) for milk, when he replied in the words of the proverb.

11.—*Ház'a fasdi aná.*

"This is my bleeding, mine." This proverb is attributed to Ká'b ibn Máme'h, the Sir Philip Sidney of Pagan Arabia. While a prisoner among the tribe of Anazab, where he had voluntarily placed himself in bondage in order to free a man who had invoked his succour, he had been told by the mistress of the house to bleed the camel, to make blood puddings for the guests. Indignant at this stinginess, he had killed it, and, when rated by the housewife, he uttered the above saying: But this story is also told of Hatim, with the addition that the lady slapped his face, whereupon Hatim exclaimed—

Law ghairo záte sewárin latamatni.

"If any other bracelet-wearer had slapped me.

ART, XV.—TO AN INDIAN MOON.

Pale orb of night,
Divinely bright,
That ridest on the southern skies,
Manifest Queen !
Whom, dimly seen
In our far misty northern clime,
While fairies peep thro' leafy screen,
Lovers invoke,
As thou dost rise
'Twixt the gnarled boughs of some hoar oak
On summer-eve at trysting-time ;—

Was't in disdain,
Or part in pain
For ruth of thine Endymion,
Where he lay drown'd in deathless sleep,
From Latmos' steep
Thou cam'st to weep
Here, leaving there a phantom cold
A shade, a ghost,
As some have told
That Helen's wraith in Ilion
Mocked Paris and the Grecian host ?

For thee, for thee,
O list ! the sea
Heaves all its myriad moaning waves,

And bids them rear
White hands of spray
That fade in fitful gleams away ;—
Then, sunk to lowly sobbing lanes
The placid beach,
If it might teach
The rhythmic pebbles melody
To draw thee from thy crystal sphere.

Beneath thy wand
The tranced land
In slumber lies, her languorous hush
Scarce stirr'd by airs
Whose fragrant prayers
Through balmy bowers whisper bland :
The palm-tree sways his dreaming plumes,
And in the tangle
Of creeper lush
And scented shrub each firefly spangle
Its beacon-light of love illumines.

So now ! the clouds—
Their pearly shrouds
Steal o'er thee, fleecy soft caresses
Woosingly laid
About thy tresses—
And is thy vengeful armoury spent ?
Nay, let them fear thee, Heavenly Maid !
Thy bow is bent,
And, swiftly torn,

They part, their flying shoulders sprent
With steely flashes of thy scorn !

We mortals gaze :
Our hymns of praise
Roll up : thou heedest not, nor stoopest.
But trailing still thy starry zone,
In splendour lapp'd,
From thy high throne
On our wild eyes too fondly rapt,
With icy spires
Of fruitless fires
Freezing the flame of mad desires,
Thy bright benumbing sceptre droopest.

W.

ART. XVI.—CURTIUS.

(A Fragmentary Lay of Rome)

On Palatine the holy Square
Gleams in the moonlight still,
And the Capitol of Tatius
Stands on the northern Hill :
But in the midst the valley makes
A wide and level street
Where citizens and Sabines
By day were wont to meet :
Now, night has brought a portent ;
Where once the traders came,
A chasm has rent the market-place,
And all the lately-busy space
Is foul with smoke and flame.

The citizens have left their homes
And fled in wild affright ;
There was no rest for Romans
Upon that awful night :
But in the first watch, when the dark
Was dying in the East,
The people slumbered, spent with care,
And dreamed of succour least :
When, lo ! from distant Vesta
A sound that wakened all,
A shout, as when Camillus
Charged home the wavering Gaul :

And high above the thronging
A mounted man appears,
Over his head a scarlet plume,
Behind his back two spears :
Proudly he reined his chafing steed,
Proudly he looked on high ;

While the crowd turned to left and right,
 As if it fled before the light
 Of some immortal eye.

He took the maiden kiss of Dawn,
 As of an equal power ;
 Men said no man had ever looked
 As Curtius did that hour.

"Ho ! Romans and Quirites !"
 He cried for all to hear,
 Have ye no dread, the word hath sped,
 "The auspices are clear ;
 "Rome owes—so says the augury—
 "To three good gifts her force,
 "And here I bring them at her need—
 "Arms, and a man and horse."

With that he smote his charger's flank
 And shook his iron bit,
 The noble beast flung up his head,
 And leaped into the pit :
 And, on the spot where Curtius
 Sank down, a water lay
 Which people call "The Curtian pool"
 Unto this very day.

* * * *

*More than two thousand years are gone
 Since then. Again has burst
 A chasm in Rome that threatens
 More mischief than the first.*

*To heal that danger to the State
 And quench those fatal fires
 A Hero and a sacrifice
 The Forum still requires.*

THE QUARTER.

FOR Englishmen, wherever placed, the history of the past Quarter, like that which preceded it, has meant practically the history of the War in South Africa. The record, happily, has been one of almost uninterrupted success. When we closed our last retrospect, on the 10th March, Cronje had surrendered, Ladysmith had been relieved, and Lord Roberts had inflicted a severe defeat on the enemy in the neighbourhood of Osfontein and was in full march on the Free State Capital. Subsequent events seem to show that the surrender of Cronje with his army, and the rapid advance by which it was followed, must have completely demoralised the Boers, whose resistance has since been for the most part of a very faint-hearted character.

Any attempt at a detailed account of the operations which resulted in the occupation of Bloemfontein on the 13th March, Kroonstadt on the 12th May, Johannesburg just 18 days later, and Pretoria on the 5th June, and the relief of Mafeking on the 17th May, would be superfluous here. It is enough to say that the action at Osfontein, in which our casualties were relatively insignificant, was followed by another at Driefontein, on the 6th March, which also resulted in a complete victory for our troops, consisting mainly of General Broadwood's brigade and General Kelly Kenny's division. The further advance of the force towards Bloemfontein was unopposed, and three days later that place surrendered at discretion after General French had threatened to bombard the town, Lord Roberts, who entered at noon, receiving what is described as a tremendous ovation.

On the 15th March General Gatacre crossed the Orange River and occupied Bethulie, and the following morning General Pole Carew, with 2,000 Guards and two guns, started from Bloemfontein to join him and seized Springfontein junction, thus securing the railway communications of Bloemfontein.

At Bloemfontein a pause of some six weeks occurred in the general advance, the delay being due partly to lack of remounts for the cavalry and partly to the renewed activity of the enemy to the East and South-East, where some of the severest fighting of the campaign took place in the interval, the net result being the retirement of the Boers on Kroonstadt. On the 30th April, Lord Roberts having in the meantime been re-inforced

by the newly arrived 8th Division, a further advance was made by General Wavell's, General Bruce Hamilton's and General Maxwell's brigades in the direction of Brandfort, and on the 3rd May that town was occupied, the Boer army under General Delarey retreating to the North-East, and the mounted infantry immediately pushed forward to the Vet river. On the 6th Winburg surrendered to General Hamilton and the entire force advanced to the Vet river drift, which was carried, without serious opposition, after a severe artillery duel, apparently intended to cover the retreat of the enemy. On the 7th the force occupied Smaldeel junction, and on the following day General Hamilton, with the mounted infantry, occupied Fourteen Streams. On the 9th the main body advanced to Welgelegen on the Zand river. It was expected that the enemy would make a determined stand on the North bank; but, though they occupied a strong position, the opposition encountered was of the feeblest, and the river was crossed by the entire force on the morning of the 10th with slight loss.

Pushing on at daybreak of the following day, the headquarters, with General Pole Carew's Division, marched twenty miles, to within fourteen miles of Kroonstadt, the Boers occupying an entrenched position at Boschrand, about six miles in advance.

The same afternoon, General French seized the drift across the Valsche river. During the night the enemy evacuated their first line of entrenchments, and at 1-30 P.M. Kroonstadt was occupied without opposition, President Steyn having fled to Heilbron, the previous evening, after issuing a proclamation constituting it the future capital of the Free State. Though the President's efforts to persuade the Burghers to defend Kroonstadt were unavailing, it was anticipated that the enemy would hotly contest the passage of the Vaal river. Lindley was occupied on the 17th by General Broadwood, and on the same day Lord Methuen, to the west of the main line of advance, occupied Hoopstadt.

The advance from Kroonstadt began on the 21st May; and on the 23rd the force crossed the Rhenoster river, the enemy having fled during the night after slight resistance. On the 24th the advanced guard crossed the Vaal near Parys, the main body crossing three days later, just in time to prevent the destruction of the coal mines, our casualties in the operation being only four. On the 28th the force made a magnificent march of twenty miles and arrived within eighteen miles of Johannesburg, the enemy abandoning their positions one after another with the utmost precipitation. On the 29th, the outskirts of Johannesburg were reached, and the Clerksdorp railway junction connecting that place with Natal and Pretoria was seized.

The following day the town surrendered and it was occupied on the 31st after a respite of 24 hours, and the annexation of the Orange Free State under the name of the Orange River Colony proclaimed. The same day a portion of the force pushed on to Hatherley; thus severing the railway communication between Pretoria and Delagoa Bay, but too late to prevent the escape of President Kruger. On the 2nd June the bulk of the force encamped near Pretoria, General Wavell's brigade being left at Johannesburg, where the mines were found uninjured, to prevent disorder. On the 4th June it was announced that Pretoria had been invested after severe fighting at Six-mile Spruit, and that the Burgomaster was prepared to give up the town on a formal demand being made. The following day the town surrendered unconditionally and Lord Roberts entered it at 2 P.M. A Reuter's telegram, dated 6th June says: Just before dark yesterday, the enemy were beaten back from all positions, General Hamilton's Mounted Infantry pursuing them to within 2,000 yards of Pretoria. A flag of truce was sent, demanding the surrender. General Botha proposed an armistice for the purpose of settling terms; but Lord Roberts intimated that the surrender must be unconditional, otherwise our troops would march into the town at daybreak. General Botha replied that they had decided not to defend Pretoria, and trusted that the women, children and property would be protected. Three of the principal civil officials met Lord Roberts at 1 o'clock in the morning and stated their wish to surrender the town. Few of the British prisoners have been removed. Over 100 officers are in Pretoria.

The only serious reverses that occurred in the course of these operations were the partial destruction of a convoy despatched, with his baggage and batteries, by General Broadwood from his bivouac near Thabanchu towards the Bloemfontein Waterworks, which was ambushed in a deep nullah and lost six guns and 435 men, killed, wounded and missing, and the surprise and capture of five companies when marching from Reddersberg to Smithfield.

Mafeking was relieved on the 17th May by a composite force of about 2,300 men under Colonel Mahon, who had effected a junction with Colonel Plumer at Jammassibi, two days previously. A most determined attack had been made on the garrison on the 13th by a body of 250 Boers under Commandant Eloff, who succeeded in penetrating into the heart of the British camp. In the struggle which ensued and which lasted all day, half the little band got divided and surrounded and the survivors finally surrendered. The Boers left 10 dead, 19 wounded and 108 prisoners, including Eloff himself and nine officers, with seventeen Frenchmen and Germans. The relief-

ing force was stubbornly opposed by 1,500 of the enemy some nine miles from Mafeking on the 16th, but drove them from their positions after five hours' fighting. After the relief the garrison and the relieving force attacked and routed the Boers under General Snyman, and Colonel Plumer has since occupied Zeerust.

It is somewhat difficult, from the fragmentary accounts that have appeared from time to time in the daily papers, to gain a clear and connected view of the operations in Natal subsequent to the relief of Ladysmith. After that event it appears the Boers continued to hold the Biggersberg range in force, and on at least two occasions serious attacks were made on our advanced camp at Elandslaagte from that direction, but were easily repelled.

On the 12th May an advance was made from Elandslaagte and Indoda Hill occupied. On the 13th Uithoek Hill was attacked and carried, and on the following day the enemy evacuated Helpmakaar Nek. On the 15th Wessels Nek and Dundee were occupied, and Glencoe on the 16th, the Transvaalers evacuating the entire line of the Biggersberg, a few days later our troops re-entered Newcastle; and on the 19th General Clery advanced to Ingogo and Lord Dundonald to the neighbourhood of Laings Nek, the Boers holding fortified positions from Laing's Nek to Vryheid. On the 30th May General Hildyard occupied Utrecht, the enemy at the same time evacuating Dornberg, while General Buller was encamped on Inkwelo Mountain, which commands the enemy's camp at Pogwani.

The latest news to hand is contained in the following dispatch from General Buller dated 8th June:—

"We have captured positions which, I think, render the Boer position at Laing's Nek untenable. General Talbot Coke, with the 10th Brigade, on the 6th instant, captured Vanwyke's Hill, our casualties being 4 killed and 13 wounded. During the 6th and 7th we posted four big guns on Vanwyke and two guns on a spur of Inkwelo. General Hildyard to-day assailed all the spurs between Botha's Pass and Inkwelo. The attack was well planned and carried out with immense dash. The enemy were outflanked and forced to retire from their very strong position."

The ably-planned operations by which these results have been achieved have been marred, like those in the neighbourhood of Bloemfontein, by an unfortunate mishap, General Bethune's Horse, which were detached to drive the Boers from Nqutu and Vryheid having fallen into an ambushade between the former place and Mount Prospect, and lost between twenty and thirty killed and wounded, besides a number captured.

It was at first believed that Kruger had effected his escape

from the country, *via* Lorenzo Marques, and that he might be expected to turn up next on the Continent, but the account of his interview with a correspondent of the *Daily Express* at Machada Dorp, telegraphed by Reuter on the 8th instant, shows that this impression was premature. His declaration that the Burghers will never surrender while there are 500 armed men left in the country may, none the less, probably, be set down as "bluff." At the same time, the war may be expected to drag on some weeks longer, the probability being that a remnant of the Boers will make a final stand in the difficult country in the N.-E. angle of the Republic, where, however, they will shortly find themselves completely surrounded.

Considerable dissatisfaction has been created in certain quarters in England by the publication of Lord Roberts and General Buller's despatches, or rather a selection from them regarding the Spionkop fiasco, containing certain reflections on General Buller's conduct which is censured as being opposed to good policy and official practice. The public conscience seems to have been specially exercised by a suggestion of Lord Lansdowne's that General Buller should recast his narrative of the operations, which, much to his credit, he refused to do. Lord Rosebery, in the Lords, accused the Government of having impaired General Buller's authority and humiliated him, because they were unable to face a few questions in the House of Commons, and the general opinion of the Press appears to be that the publication of the despatches was unjustified.

Apart from the war in South Africa the most important event of the Quarter from a national point of view is, perhaps, the enactment of the Commonwealth Bill, which was read a second time by the House of Commons unopposed on the 21st May, a compromise having been arrived at on the question of appeals. Under the appeal clause as passed, all questions as to the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of the Commonwealth and the Australian States, or as to the limits of such powers between the State themselves, are left to the decision of the High Court of the Commonwealth; and in cases of this class there is to be no appeal except with the consent of the Governments concerned. In all other cases the right of appeal is preserved, power, however, being reserved to the Commonwealth Parliament to limit the right of appeal in future with the consent of the Crown. Two out of six colonies, it should be added, together with all the Chief Justices, were in favour of the retention of the former right of appeal in all cases.

A crisis of some magnitude, the ultimate consequences of

which it is difficult to forecast, has arisen in China, where a serious anti-foreign movement in the neighbourhood of Peking, organised by the Boxer secret society and believed to be fomented by the Dowager Empress and her party, threatens to necessitate active intervention on the part of the Powers. So far the Imperial forces have shown themselves utterly unable or unwilling to suppress the rising; the Powers, including America and Japan, who are co-operating in defence of the common interests, have landed a considerable force at Tientsin and twenty-three war ships are assembled at Taku. Many miles of the Peking railway have been destroyed; several Europeans, including an English Missionary, have been murdered, and the situation at Peking is said to be critical. The latest information is that 250 of the Hong-Kong regiment and 200 of the Welsh Fusiliers, whose place is to be supplied by troops from India, have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to the North, while a Russian force is also moving on the capital.

Politically the past three months in India have been wholly uneventful, and, with the exception of a marked abatement of the mortality from Plague in all parts of the country, the domestic situation has undergone but little change.

The Financial Statement, which was laid before the Council by Mr. Dawkins on the 21st March, and which was framed for the first time in sterling, shows a surplus for 1898-99 of £2,641,000, and for the past year of £2,553,000, receipts having improved during the year by £607,000 in spite of a loss of land revenue, amounting to £1,187,000, owing to the famine. At the same time, notwithstanding several large economies, the net expenditure has increased by £676,000, also owing to the famine, which has entailed an outlay of £2,055,000 for relief purposes. The Budget Estimates for the year are made up on the basis of exchange of an 16*d*. An increase of £838,000 is taken under land revenue, as it is hoped famine will have disappeared by September. An increase of £667,000 is anticipated from railways, and of £156,000 from opium owing to better prices in China. Direct famine relief is expected to cost £3,335,000. Allowing for temporary increases due to high prices, and for recoveries, Military Estimates show an increase of £746,000, of which nearly half is devoted to re-arming the Native Army. The surplus for 1900-1901 works out at £160,000. The Secretary of State is expected to have drawn by the 31st March £19,000,000 at an average rate a little over 16*d*., but owing to famine expenditure £1,500,000 of the drawings were met out of Currency Reserve, the gold being held in England.

Next year the Secretary of State expects to draw £16,440,000

and to incur temporary debt of £500,000. The Secretary of State does not expect to raise fresh permanent sterling debt; but it is estimated that a loan of three crores will be necessary in India for Ways and Means. Capital expenditure on railways will amount to £4,872,000 and the Irrigation grant is raised to a full crore.

The gold held by Government under the new Currency Arrangements amounted on the 7th March to £8,570,000, or more by £3,570,000 than the minimum balance which it is considered necessary to maintain in that metal; and it has accordingly been decided to pay out gold in excess of the limit of £5,000,000 to any one desiring it. The gross receipts from railways during the year showed a gratifying increase of £824,000, those from opium an increase of £401,000, which is, perhaps, even more satisfactory, and those from the Post Office, Telegraphs, and Mints an increase of £423,000. It is considered highly satisfactory that during the past year India met all demands for famine and railway construction out of revenue, without recourse to borrowing, and passed to a gold standard through the ordinary operations of trade, without incurring additional debt; but the cost at which all this has been done cannot be ignored and has left an enduring mark on the country.

During the period under review the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure have issued their Report. Their recommendations, while they are very far from meeting the claims of the Indian Government, or satisfying the demands of justice, and while there is nothing in them that can be considered to account for the inordinate delay that has occurred in the preparation of the Report, are important enough to justify the enquiry.

On the question of the efficiency of the financial machinery of the Government their verdict is—one of almost unqualified approval. They pronounce it to be well-organised, effectively controlled, and, though the process of ascertaining actual receipts and expenditure is slower than in England, well adapted to the conditions of the country. They, however, think it worthy of consideration whether the financial year should not close on the 31st December, in which case, they remark, the accounts of actual income and expenditure would be practically complete by the time the Budget was opened, and there would be no need for Revised Estimates.

As regards Financial Control they express themselves somewhat more doubtfully. They think the controlling power of the Financial Member of the Council is theoretically complete; but they note a serious difference of opinion on the part of recent Finance Members as to his practical power, and

remark that, as far as the administration in India is concerned, everything depends on the weight attached by the Viceroy to financial considerations. They accordingly think it desirable that the Secretary of State should learn unreservedly the opinion of the Financial Member, and consider the suggestion of Lord Cromer that he should be at liberty to express it in a confidential memorandum, to be forwarded by the Viceroy to the Secretary of State, deserving of favourable consideration.

As regards the sufficiency of the Indian audit their opinion is on the whole favourable, but they are divided on the question whether the terms of appointment and duties of the Comptroller and Auditor-General are a sufficient guarantee of his independence. They make certain recommendations, which need not be detailed here, regarding the form and disposal of the appropriation accounts, and they also think that the Auditor of the Home Accounts should exercise a free-discretion in commenting on the expenditure audited by him; that these accounts, with his Report and a Minute of the Secretary of State on them, should be referred to a Standing Committee, two of the members of which should be unconnected with the India Office and one should be the English Auditor and Comptroller-General, and that the Report of the Committee, with the papers, should be laid before Parliament.

On the important subject of the growth of expenditure, they satisfy themselves with instituting a comparison between 1861-62 and 1895-96, and come to the conclusion that the produce of taxation in the interval increased in a considerably greater rate than the population; and that, while the growth of expenditure outstripped the normal growth of the tax-revenue by Rx. 5,550,000, the expenditure included a sum of no less than Rx. 13,800,000 for increased cost of exchange; so that, but for the charge entailed in India by the fall of exchange, the normal growth of revenue would not only have been sufficient to meet the largely increased demands of Military and other services, but would have provided a large balance available for reduction of taxation.

As to the cost of collecting the revenue, they remark that it is very heavy, but that, barring that of the Land Revenue, it is not much higher than in the United Kingdom.

Turning to cost of civil administration, they arrive at the conclusion that that of the "general administration" was not excessive as compared with 1875 and cannot fairly be considered extravagant. Passing to non-effective civil expenditure, they express an opinion that the Indian scale of furlough or leave pay is not extravagant as compared with allowances of the same kind in the Imperial Diplomatic and Consular

Service, or in Ceylon, and while they point out the heaviness of the burden cast on the tax-payer by the fall of exchange for civil pensions payable in England, and urge that the Government of India should take steps to ascertain the financial effect of the pension regulations, they abstain from pronouncing against the existing scale, "recognising that laborious and responsible service in a tropical climate should entitle a man to a substantial pension in reasonable time."

In connexion with the expenditure on Defence and Foreign Affairs, they note the large increase, amounting to 47 per cent., between 1884-85 and 1896-97, but observe that if the effect of the fall in exchange were excluded, the increase would probably not exceed 29 per cent. The chief causes of the increase, they add, are the addition to the British force in India, the increase of the native army, the annexation of Upper Burmah, the increased allowances to the native army to meet increased prices of food, increase of recruiting and depôt charges in England, and of non-effective charges, and the grant of deferred pay to the soldiers.

They further remark that the increase of non-effective charges, due largely to the effect of the abolition of purchase, is formidable; that the charge for leave pensions to officers of the native Indian army has increased very greatly, and there is also a large increase in the pensions of ministers of religion attached to the army; and they recommend that an actuarial report should be obtained showing the normal non-effective charge entailed upon the tax-payer by the present regulations and the proportion it bears to effective, as well as a similar report on the charge for military pensions formerly payable from military funds.

As regards the apportionment of charges between the United Kingdom and India for services in which both are regarded as interested, they make a series of more or less important recommendations. Briefly, under the head of civil charges, they recommend that the United Kingdom should contribute £50,000 a year to the cost of the India Office; that the United Kingdom should contribute half the military charges of the fortress of Aden; that the charges for the Legations and Consulates in Persia should be equally divided between the two countries; that India should maintain the Euphrates and Tigris and the United Kingdom the Karun river, subsidy.

Under the head of army services we gather that they do not on the whole consider that the present capitation grant is excessive, or that short service will eventually entail an increased burden on India; they think, however, that the capitation grant should be revised after a further period of five or six years, and that, pending such revision, half the cost of

transport of troops between the two countries might fairly be borne by the United Kingdom.

In respect of payment for Indian Troops employed out of India, they submit for consideration the Heads of a Treasury Minute which, they suggest, might be drafted for allocating the distribution of charges on a geographical basis. These are :

1. That India has not a direct and substantial interest in the employment of forces in Europe ; in Africa, west of the Cape of Good Hope ; in Asia, east of China.
2. That India has a direct and substantial interest in keeping open the Suez Canal, and in the maintenance of order and established government in Egypt so far as the security of the Suez Canal is affected thereby. This interest might extend to the coasts of the Red Sea only so far as to maintain the inviolability of that shore, but not to the Soudan, or further extensions of Egypt up the valley of the Nile or its affluents.
3. That India may have a modified interest in questions affecting the East Coast of Africa as far as Zanzibar, and the African islands in the Indian Ocean, except Madagascar.
4. That India has no direct or substantial interest in the African coast south of Zanzibar.
5. That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Persia, and the coasts and islands of Arabia and of the Persian Gulf.
6. That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Afghanistan and that part of Central Asia which is adjacent to the borders of India or Afghanistan.
7. That India has a sole interest in punitive expeditions on her borders.
8. That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Siam.
9. That India has a modified interest in questions affecting China and the Malay Peninsula.
10. That India has no direct or substantial interest in Japan or countries or islands east and south of China.
11. That special cases may arise giving to India a direct and substantial interest in questions connected with Europe or other territories in which the Minute declares her to have, as a general rule, no interest.
12. That in every case where the two Governments are not agreed, no contribution should be made by India until the sanction of Parliament has been obtained.

“We think” they add, “that in the event of the Governments of the United Kingdom and India not agreeing upon the question of ‘distinct and special’ interest, a committee might be constituted of two members appointed by Your Majesty’s Government, and two members appointed by the Secretary of State in Council, and of a chairman to be selected by the four members. This committee should make a report to the Government which should be presented to Parliament ; and the Government, within a prescribed period, should present its final determination for the satisfaction of both Houses. The Treasury Minute would aid the committee and the two Governments in arriving at a decision.”

As regards Naval charges the Commissioners incline to the view that the sum of £100,000 at present paid towards the cost of ships of the Royal Navy employed in Indian waters is not excessive, but suggest that friction between the two Governments might be removed if ships of the size and number required by the Government of India for coast police were supplied at the actual cost, and the balance of that sum paid over in a lump as the contribution of India to the general cost of the navy.

In connexion with the appeal for liberal treatment submitted by the Indian Government the Commissioners, after going into the arguments on either side, suggest no change beyond that already mentioned regarding a division of the cost of transport of troops to and from India; but express their concurrence in the views of the Committee of the House of Commons which reported on Indian expenditure in 1874, and with reference to their opinion that payments by India to England should take the form of fixed rates as to which the India Office should be consulted, they observe that there ought to be no instance of a charge imposed upon the Indian Government without previous consultation with the Secretary of State, and that no alterations involving expenditure in India should take effect in India till the beginning of the financial year following their adoption.

As already noted, the mortality from Plague has shown a marked diminution during the past three months, the total number of deaths from the disease in all India having, according to the latest returns, fallen to between seven hundred and eight hundred a week.

The distress in Western India and Rajputana, on the other hand, continues unabated, and the number of persons in receipt of relief has nearly reached six millions. As far, however, as can be judged from present indications the coming monsoon promises to be of at least normal strength, though somewhat later than usual.

Among minor results of the Quarter specially connected with India we may note the institution by the Queen-Empress of a new decoration for local services entitled the Kaiser-i-Hind medal. The decoration comprises two classes—a gold and a silver medal—and is to be given for public services in India irrespectively of class, rank, creed or sex. The first list of medallists was issued on Her Majesty's birthday.

The obituary for the quarter includes the names of the Duke of Argyll; Field Marshall Sir Donald Stewart, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.; Major-General Sir E. R. P. Woodgate; the Earl of Harrowby; Dr. St. George Mivart; Mr. Archibald Forbes; Colonel the Hon'ble George Hugh Gough, C.B.; Osman

Pasha ; Sir Douglas Maclagan ; Mr. J. G. Cordery, I.C.S. ; Mr. A. H. Gunter, I.C.S. ; Mr. W. Knighton, LL. D. ; Sir W. Priestley ; Mr. W. Duff Bruce ; the Earl of Londesborough ; Sir Francis Marindin, K.C.M.G. ; Sir John Bridge ; M. de Munkaczy ; General J. A. M. Macdonald ; Mr. T. B. Sandwith, C. B. ; Lieutenant-General Pitt-Rivers ; Colonel Ralph Ouseley ; Colonel A. S. Leith Hay, C. B. ; General Lord Mark Kerr, G. C. B. ; Major-General J. F. Richardson, C.B.

June 10, 1900.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Hic et Ubique. Verses written in Idleness. By H. G. Keene, C.I.E. Allahabad, 1899.

THE discriminating reader will hardly lay down this little volume of graceful verses without feeling that, with more abundant opportunity, its author would have taken a place in the front rank of contemporary English singers. It is exclusively to the cultured, however, that Mr. Keene's Muse, unlike that of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, appeals; and under no circumstances, probably, could he have expected more than a limited audience. Even in his more humorous vein, to which he yields but seldom, as in the lines to an Angora Cat, he never ceases to be refined. The lyrical element is everywhere conspicuous in Mr. Keene's poetry, and the dominant note strikes us as a more than usually sad one. Yet few persons, we think, will take leave of *Hic et Ubique* without regret for its brevity or without a sense of gain.

In "Crossing the Street," which we quote below, Mr. Keene is not, perhaps, quite at his best; but it will appeal strongly to many an Anglo-Indian.

CROSSING THE STREET.

DEAR UNCLE DICK! I see him yet,
His Quixote face and white moustache;
The one cheroot he smoked a day,
And how he watched the lengthening ash:
He never talked of what he'd been,
Or all the glory that he missed,
But if you asked about his deeds,
Referred you to the *Indian List*:
There you could see what life was his;
He had ruled and judged and thought and planned,
Had made the name of England blessed,
And civilised an Eastern land:
The Province where he once held sway—
A modern Soldier of the Cross—
Had stretched as far as half our isle,
From Pentland Firth to Solway Moss:

And now he ruled, when all was done,
A two-pair flat in Pimlico,
A stranger in his native land whom no one
Really cared to know.
And all his work was now to march through fog and
snow,
Through wind and sleet,
To read the journal at his club,
And cross with care the crowded street :
Till age came, on, with slow decay,
Unmarked by us, unnamed by him,
The elastic step grew weak and stiff,
The hearing faint, the eye-sight dim ;
One winter night they brought him home,
Crushed in the darkness and the rain,
And laid him on his lonely bed ;
He never crossed the street again.

Four months Besieged. H. H. S. PEARSE, Macmillan & Co.,
London and New York.

IN the avalanche of books, fiction and fact, which owe their origin to the present war in South Africa, it is pleasant to come across one written in the sober and judicial spirit which characterises Mr. Pearse's story of Ladysmith, *Four Months Besieged*. It consists of pages from letters and diaries that, with the exception of two or three of the letters which managed to escape the various accidents that beset the path of the special correspondent, have hitherto remained unpublished. Although, of course, they do not contain an absolutely full account of the siege, the description they give is complete enough to enable any one with the necessary imagination and a faculty for reading between the lines, to follow the fortunes of the sorely tried little garrison from day to day. from the investment in the first week in November to the relief in the last week in February. No praise can be too great for the conduct of the troops, the patient endurance of the citizens and the gallantry and ability of the general during the latter part of the siege ; but even to those least versed in warfare it will be evident that mistakes were made at the outset which, it is hard to believe, did not add greatly to the difficulties of the position. As to whether Sir George White was justified in running the risk of humiliation

by asking of General Joubert that the non-combatants with sick and wounded should be allowed to leave Ladysmith unmolested, or not, there will doubtless always be great difference of opinion, but there can be none, we should think, as to the danger and folly of his permitting Boer escorts, who came to demand an exchange of wounded to enter the town under no military restrictions and not even blind-folded. Among them, we are told, there were burghers who were neither doctors nor qualified in any way for attendance on wounded men. They moved about the town, talked with Boer prisoners, "drank at public bars with suspected Boer sympathisers—all this while they probably picked up many interesting items as to the number of troops in Ladysmith, the position of ordnance stores and magazines, and the general state of our defences, which were chaotic at that moment. One among the visitors was particularly curious about the names of officers who dined habitually at the Royal Hotel mess, and very anxious to have such celebrities as Colonel Frank Rhodes, Dr. Jameson, and Sir John Willoughby pointed out to him. Does anybody in his senses believe that such careful inquiries were made without an object, or that the Red Cross badge was regarded as a sacred symbol sealing the lips of a Boer as to all he had seen and heard in Ladysmith?

When Joubert's artillery began shelling the town their fire was directed on important stores, the locality of which could have been indicated to them only by secret agents, and on places where officers are known to assemble at certain hours. These may all have been merely strange coincidences, but, at any rate, they are noteworthy as showing that in some way, whether by accident or cunning design, General Joubert's gunners were able to profit by the truce that was agreed upon without any exact stipulation on either side as to its duration. The tacit understanding seems to have been that both forces should have time to collect their wounded and bury their dead."

At other times during the siege Boer farmers and others would appear to have been given opportunities for spying out the land, with the result that the plans of the besieged became known to the enemy almost as soon as they were formulated, a state of things which points to an amiability and confidence in the General which certainly amounted to weakness. An interesting chapter headed "A Christmas under Siege" describes the devices resorted to in order to celebrate the great festival in a manner worthy of old traditions. Roast beef for Tommy there was, it seems, plenty, but unfortunately the oxen which provided it were too lean to give also the suet necessary for his plum pudding. But in spite of this drawback the puddings were duly forthcoming. Mr. Pearse however, per-

haps wisely, keeps to himself the secret as to what substitute was found for that important ingredient. It seems strange to read of Christmas trees being got up for the children while shells were screaming over the town, but habit apparently accustoms men even to such startling visitors, and in Ladysmith several of the officers got together the materials and the toys and entertained over 200 children with four trees representing "Great Britain," "Australia," "Canada" and "South Africa" under folds of the Union Jack. One of the pathetic incidents of the siege which forms a striking example of the irony of fate, was the death of Dr. Stark, a "visitor from England with the avowed object of giving medical care to any wounded enemies who might fall into our hands. When Boer shells began to burst about our ears Dr. Stark was the most practical advocate of caution. He would leave the Royal Hotel at daybreak every morning, or even earlier, carrying with him a pet kitten in a basket, and sufficient supplies for a whole day up to dinner-time. When the light began to fade so that gunners could hardly see to shoot straight, and therefore ceased firing, he would emerge from his riverside retreat and return to the hotel. Foresight could not suggest more complete precautions against accident than he took on common-sense principles. But, unhappily, one evening the Boer artillery carried on practice later than usual, aiming with fixed sights steadily at the Royal Hotel, in the evident hope of hitting some staff officers who were supposed to hold their mess there. It was nearly dark when two shells came in rapid succession from the big gun near Lombard's Kop, and the second, passing clean through Dr. Stark's empty bedroom into the hall below, went out by an open door and hit the doctor, who was coming in at that moment. A special correspondent, Mr. M'Hugh, who happened to be standing near, rendered first-aid by the application of a tourniquet; and trained nurses came quickly to his assistance, but too late to save the kindly gentleman, who had been shot through both legs, and whose life-blood was ebbing fast, though he remained alive and conscious of everything that passed for an hour afterwards. The hand of fate seemed there, but whether it was more merciful to him or to those who, having escaped shot and shell, are now stricken by disease in an unhealthy camp, who shall say?"

How hard pressed the little garrison became before that joyful night when the relieving force entered the town, will be seen by all who read Mr. Pearse's book. Even on February, the 7th, it was felt that if relief was much longer delayed, worse things than privation would ensue, for scurvy was added to the other diseases in Intombi camp; and horseflesh, which

for some time had been given out under some sort of disguise and glorified by the name of "chevril," had already been frankly placed on the bill of fare, with the result that many civilians who had doubtless been enjoying it under an assumed name refused to eat it. The book is furnished with illustrations and maps, and should not only be read, but bought by all who are interested in the war and wish to retain a clear memory of the circumstances of this memorable siege.

The Cambric Mask. BY ROBERT W. CHAMBERS. Macmillan & Co., London.

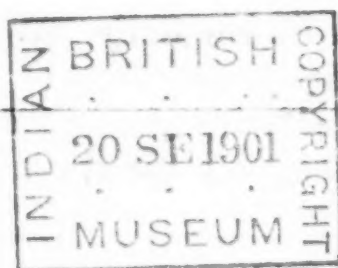
THERE is a lack of seriousness, amounting almost to flippancy about Mr. Robert W. Chambers' last book, *The Cambric Mask*, which will probably surprise those who read his *Ashes of Empire*. This quality, however, makes it very good reading for anyone in want of a book to while away an idle hour. It deals with the schemes and villanies of a lawless community in the States of America, and of the disintegration of a band of moonlighters called the "White Riders," with whom other secret brotherhoods, with their signals, codes and rituals "dissolved into legendry as quietly as they have come into existence." The characters of the hero, "John Sark," who employs his time in collecting entomological specimens, and as some one describes it "keeps hot-houses for to breed silk-worms," and raise new species of butterflies, and his companion, "Mr. Batty," stand out in striking contrast to the scoundrels amongst whom they live, and their several love adventures, if savouring slightly of caricature, form an agreeable interlude between the scenes of coarse American vituperation and the schemes of unscrupulous financiers. Mr. Chambers indeed provides us with sufficiently varied fare, and tells his story with a briskness which forbids his readers to lay the book down unfinished. What part the *Cambric Mask* plays in the plot it is not for us to disclose. We can only recommend those who have not already read the romance to do so and discover for themselves.

Longmans' Readers for Bengal Schools (Anglo-Bengali).

The First Primer. Edited by W. H. Arden Wood, M. A., La Martinière, Calcutta. Longmans, Green, and Company, 32, Hornby Road, Bombay; London and New York, 1900.

I N this first Anglo-Bengali primer, Mr. Arden Wood has followed the type common in England in which the letters of the alphabet are each illustrated by a representation of some familiar object, the name of which begins with

it, the letter A, for example, being accompanied by the figure of an ape, J by that of a jackal, and so on. A similar device is adopted for impressing on the pupil the meanings of the simple monosyllables used as nouns substantive in the easy sentences constituting the syntactical exercises given in the primer, and, in some cases, the states or action predicated in the sentences. All these illustrations, too, are highly coloured, and would no doubt impress an average English child of two or three years greatly. The intention is laudable, and to the execution there is nothing to object. Indeed, it is often greatly superior to that found in most English primers of the same type. At the same time, we fear that Mr. Wood, or whoever is responsible for the method adopted, has somewhat underrated the precocity of the Bengalee child, which, for the most part, not merely renders it independent of such expedients, but not uncommonly disposes it to laugh at them. The translations are in most cases accurate and colloquial, though the rendering of "*The ox in the pit ;*" "*The dog is thin*" and the like by ঐ ষাড়টী ঐ খানার ভিতরে ঐ কুকুরটী কুশ। and so on, is questionable. Altogether the primer is a painstaking and attractive compilation.



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